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COVERAGE OF THE 1969 FRENCH PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN AND ELECTION BY TEN PRESTIGE NEWSPAPERS

BY

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter		Page
I.	INTRODUCTION	1
	Purpose and Scope of Study	5
	Significance	7
	Previous Work	16
	Method	18
	Reliability	22
	Sources	22
	Footnotes	24
II.	FRANCE: BACKGROUND AND MOOD OF THE NATION AT THE TIME OF DE GAULLE'S RESIGNATION	26
	Disenchantment With the General	31
	A Choice	38
	The Issues	39
	Britain and Europe	44
	Geneva Disarmament Negotiations and the Force de Frappe	45
	Israeli Arms Embargo	47
	The Franc	47
	NATO (OTAN)	49
	Dissolution of L'Assemblee Nationale and the Role of the President	50
	The Candidates	52
	Footnotes	58
III.	VOLUME AND COMPREHENSIVENESS OF COVERAGE	60
	Volume	61
	Key Election Issues	75
	Main Developments	101
	Correspondents and News Agencies	120
	Summary	122
	Footnotes	125

Table of Contents

Chapter Page

I. Introduction 1

Purpose and Design of Study 3
Significance 7
Preview Book 10
Method 10
Limitations 11
Sources 12
Definitions 14

II. Problems Encountered and Means of Their Solution . . . 16

My Role Since Dr. Hamlin's Retirement . . . 16

Interpretation Will the Council 21
A Beginning 28
The Centre 29
Building and Program 42
Advisory Placement Responsibilities and
The Duty of Prepp 43
Harriet Rose Shearer 47
The Press 47
Band [Drum] 49
Dramatization of Tchaikovsky Spectacular and
The Role of the Executive 50
The Graduation 51
Summaries 59

III. Working and Communicating Ideas of Content . . . 60

Volume 61
Key Elevation Centre 15
Data Development 107
Correspondents and Some Special Cases . . . 120
Summary 134
Bibliography 135

Chapter		Page
IV.	FOCUS OF COVERAGE	128
	Items and Paragraphs	129
	Candidate Coverage	139
	Summary	143
	Footnotes	145
V.	DIRECTION OF COVERAGE	146
	Interpretative and Value Items	151
	Factual Items	155
	Advocacy Items	158
	Editorials and Editorial Columns	160
	Summary	171
	Footnotes	174
VI.	CONCLUSION	177
	Summary	177
	Conclusions	185
	Reliability	193
	Suggestions For Further Research	194
	Footnotes	196
BIBLIOGRAPHY		197

Chapter Page

IV. Points of Contact 132

Terms and Vocabulary 132
Coordinate Geometry 133
Theorems 134
Theorems 140

V. Applications of Congruence 159

Isosceles and Equilateral Triangles 161
Right Angles 164
Midpoint Lines 170
Bisectors Lines and Equidistant Points 180
Inequality 193
Perpendicular 174

VI. Similarity 177

Similarity 177
Constructions 180
Similarity 183
Right Triangles for Special Segments 184
Theorems 188

Bibliography 189

LIST OF TABLES

Table		Page
I.	Number of Items and Total Inches of Coverage of the 1969 French Presidential Campaign and Election	62
II.	Breakdown of Total Items and Inches	63
III.	Key Election Issues	77
IV.	Main Developments	104
V.	Source Breakdown	121
VI.	Focus of Campaign Coverage	131
VII.	Breakdown of Candidate Coverage	140
VIII.	Breakdown of Item Content - Number of Items	149
IX.	Breakdown of Item Content - Number of Paragraphs	150
X.	Editorials and Editorial Columns	161

Table of Contents

I. Medical and Social Implications of Coverage of the 1969 Armed Expeditionary Campaign and Disaster 01

II. Introduction of Tropical Illness and Injuries 07

III. Army Climatology Lectures 17

IV. Malta Investigations 104

V. Disease Eradication 121

VI. Theories of Conquering Overcharge 131

VII. Investigations of Tropical Overcharge 149

VIII. Investigation of Liver Diseases - Problems of Malaria 169

IX. Investigations of Liver Diseases - Problems of Hepatitis 184

X. Antibacterials and Antiviral Drugs 201

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

On the 28th day of April 1969 French men and women awakened to the reality that they had defeated the government referendum and that General Charles de Gaulle, their national savior for ten years and ten months, had resigned. In all probability a majority of them wondered if there would be a Sixth Republic. For Frenchmen, and their leaders, accustomed to changing sides in the political landscape, governmental inconsistency had become a way of life. They had long regarded the constitution as a scrap of paper which could be easily changed or forgotten in a time of crisis.

Nineteen Premiers in 12 years had convinced the French that a period of political upheaval naturally followed the resignation of a Premier or a President. A government crisis of huge proportions would probably follow the unexpected resignation of General de Gaulle. Time and time again he had warned the Republic that they must put their faith in him or risk "complete chaos." It was clear to France that on numerous occasions he alone had acted to stem the tide of the "continuing degradation of the state."

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In 1958 French political instability had reached an all time low. Premiers, entire governments and important political positions changed with an alarming rapidity. It seemed that for all of France there was only one way to turn. General de Gaulle was a leader who had twice before shored up the defenses of French patriotism and succeeded in restoring French importance in international politics. In 1958 he returned to power as the first President of the newly consecrated Fifth Republic.

During his ten years de Gaulle "ruled over France in as rare an identification of ruler and ruled as modern history shows."[1] France had grown accustomed to basking in the warm glow of self-congratulation during the 1960's. As the President of the Fifth Republic de Gaulle was its central political figure. He, and not the Prime Minister, was the policy maker. De Gaulle created this position of strength and he was aided by a strong national preference for Gaullist party deputies who were able to prevent conflicts from arising in the National Assembly. These conflicts, non-existent in the Fifth Republic, often resulted in the resignation of entire governments in the Fourth Republic. Strangely, the Constitution of the Fifth Republic kept the provision that a motion of censure could be voted against the President, and the President could dissolve the National Assembly and call for new elections. If these elections gave a majority to an opposition party,

it would appear to be a loss of faith in the President and his Prime Minister and would make it difficult for him to stay in power.

This situation never occurred when de Gaulle was President, but the possibility that it might in future governments must have been in the back of the minds of every Frenchman as the importance of the General's resignation began to take effect. The 1969 French presidential election would, in a large measure, determine the stability of the Fifth Republic for de Gaulle was a unique figure, and he had governed France through the use of national referenda and his own interpretation of the Constitution.

Of course the election was important to the French and it was, though not in the same degree, important to other countries, the United States among them. To the press, in its collective sense, fell the task of accurately reporting all of the intricacies as well as the important issues of the 1969 French political election.

Two questions arise. First, how important was the election to the United States? Second, why should the American press, and particularly the ten newspapers in this study, spend the time, money and effort to report it? Getting accurate and adequate coverage of news events in far places is difficult and complicated. Our nation's political strength and security depend on sound public understanding of international events. This understanding

cannot occur without the daily contribution of the press.

We live in a free society that emphasizes the public will in the formation of government policy. In the strictest sense, the will of the people is the foundation of our political structure. Full information is one of the essential tools for a continuing successful democracy. The press has the primary responsibility to tell us what is happening in the world and what people do, feel, say and think about. We are all directly involved in the unique democratic system of responsible government. The importance of which will be discussed in the next section of this chapter. It would seem to be that the prerequisite for participation in this system is a certain amount of understanding of important international events, at least as they affect the United States. It is important that the average citizen receive the kind and amount of information he needs to function wisely as a responsible citizen in our democratic process.

Though the need for an informed populace is self-evident it is also obvious that not all people will make good use of the knowledge acquired through the press and other media. It is probably too much to hope for that the press, by accurate coverage of world events, can manufacture a public of eager students of international affairs. Americans will always differ widely in the manner and extent of their understanding and participation in the

government process.

Nevertheless increased awareness of international events is essential in the creation of an informed public and on this score the press has a definite responsibility. We cannot have sound public understanding of international events without the daily contribution of the press. The press has the responsibility to report the international scene accurately, fairly and comprehensively. This is the only type of press that can strengthen public knowledge and involvement.

Purpose and Scope of Study

Proceeding under the premise that it is the duty and responsibility of the press to accurately report foreign affairs, it is the purpose of this study to determine the nature and scope of the coverage given the 1969 French presidential campaign and election by a selected sample of ten prestige newspapers during the period from April 28, the day of de Gaulle's resignation, to June 18, three days following the runoff election. Examination and analysis will show how much and what kind of news was given to the American public on this important international news event by these particular papers which are acknowledged, influential leaders in the press.

The study was organized around several primary areas of investigation. They are: (1) Were the readers of each newspaper provided with a continuing and accurate

Immediate increased awareness of international events is essential in the creation of an informed public and to this end, the press has a critical responsibility. We cannot deny total public understanding of international events without the daily consideration of the press. The press has the responsibility to report the information and events accurately, fairly and comprehensively. This is the only form of power that can strengthen public knowledge and involvement.

Purpose and Scope of Study

Determine whether the Korean Times is its own duty and responsibility as the press to accurately report foreign affairs. It is the purpose of this study to determine the nature and scope of the coverage given the 1980 Korean presidential campaign and election by a selected sample of two domestic newspapers during the period from April 20, the day of the Reagan's resignation, to June 30, three days following the fourth election. Information and analysis will then be made and other data of those particular topics which are relevant to the American Reagan to the Korean. Information and analysis will then be made and other data of those particular topics which are relevant to the American people at large. What does it mean the coverage of

amount of campaign and election issues and events? (2) Did the papers exhibit significant dimensions of agreement in amount of coverage? (3) Did the press cover the main developments and key issues? (4) Did the press concentrate on the candidates or on the issues? (5) Were the news stories devoted to straight news and interpretative commentary of events or were they concerned with statements of value or advocacy toward particular candidates?

Quantitative and qualitative methods were used in the analysis of the following hypotheses which form the basis of the study. The methodology will be explained later in this chapter following a discussion of the significance of the present study.

I. Examination will show the sample of ten prestige newspapers furnish measurable differences among themselves in the length and number of items and degree of coverage of issues and developments.

II. All of the papers will be found to focus on the candidates and their progress rather than on the issues and developments.

III. Examination will indicate that coverage, although centered on candidates, will be concerned primarily with straight news or interpretative accounts of events and not exhibit statements of advocacy toward candidates or issues.

These hypotheses will be tested by quantitative and qualitative methods to determine (a) volume, (b) focus,

(c) comprehensiveness, (d) interpretation, and (f) objectivity.

The remainder of this chapter will include a description of the methodology to be used in the examination, a discussion of the significance of the study and of related studies and a description of the sources which will be used in the examination. Chapter II will include a discussion of the importance of the election and a description of the French political system.

Chapters III, IV and V will be concerned with an explanation and analysis of the hypotheses. The final chapter will summarize the results, offer final conclusions and suggest further research topics in this area.

Significance

> We must, as a people, become more fully informed so that our judgements in vital international issues are sound. We must have sufficient knowledge of events and trends to appraise situations accurately, to support constructive programs, and to reject mere appeals to emotion, prejudice or unreason of any sort. If the masses are wrong in their apprehension of international problems, then the government, sensitive to the moods of the people, will almost certainly act wrongly too.[2]
>
> -Arthur Hayes Sulzberger
> 1956

Even a casual reader of the press gains a sense of the importance of foreign affairs and specific international occurrences. However, the growing complexity and subtlety of these issues in the past decade has made it increasingly difficult to keep abreast of rapidly changing world developments. The obvious result is that, in general,

(c) consequentialism, (d) interpretivism, and (e) objectivity.

The conclusions of this chapter will include a description of the methodology to be used in the examination, a discussion of the adequateness of the study and of related studies and a description of the resources which will be used in the examination. Chapter II will include a discussion of the importance of the election and a description of the present political system.

Chapters III, IV and V will be concerned with an explanation and analysis of the hypotheses. The final chapter will summarize the results, note final conclusions and suggest further research topics in this area.

Hypotheses

Even a casual reader of the press picks a sense of the importance of foreign affairs and specific international occurrences. However, the growing complexity and anxiety of these issues in the past decade has made it increasingly difficult to keep abreast of rapidly changing world developments. The obvious result is that, in general,

the American public is woefully ill-informed about details of international politics and political institutions.[3]

This lack of knowledge would seem to be particularly significant in a free society which emphasizes the public will in the formation of government policy. It is evident that, for the forseeable future, the will of the people will remain the foundation of our political structure. Arthur Hayes Sulzberger has pointed out that if the people, regardless of how active they may be in individual situations, "are wrong in their apprehension of international problems, then the government, sensitive to the moods of the people, will almost certainly act wrongly too."[4]

Mr. Sulzberger has emphasized that, "There is no denying the perils that confront us if the electorate is ignorant, apathetic or self-complacent."[5]

Given the importance of radio and television, it is impossible to have sound public interest and understanding of international events without the daily contribution of the press. Actually the press is better equipped to present full accounts of foreign affairs than either radio or television.

Pamela Cheatham noted that, "better suited or not, it is too often evident that the press does not find it easy to fulfill the potential as an informer of public opinion on world events."[6]

Wilbur Schramm is one of many noted communication researchers who has expressed concern over "whether or not we are receiving the kind and amount of information we need in order to function wisely as citizens in this complex and difficult age."[7] This growing concern places a distinct burden upon the newspaper. The press must not only report a crisis that has world-wide significance, it must also report the never-ending flow of events that precede and follow such a crisis. If the press does not accept this responsibility the reader will not know what has gone on before or what may follow after.

It is not an over-dramatization of the subject to say that: "The safety of the United States depends on accurate on-the-spot news coverage of events, particularly political events in every nation of the world. It is becoming quite evident that America's system of government cannot continue to risk not knowing what is happening in the world."[8]

Researchers in the field of international communication seem to agree that too many significant international events are too often ignored because individuals responsible for their inclusion in the press have failed to recognize their importance for a well rounded understanding of world affairs.

"Getting no news, or news reported hurriedly and without research, without an understanding of contending

factors, without the appropriate language skills, and without perspective on the area's culture is risky indeed for a country which intends to continue a system in which the public shares in decision making."[9]

Thus the press has a dual responsibility in the reporting of foreign affairs. First, it must present fully, accurately and in proper balance all of the facts of foreign affairs. However, the bare facts are often complex and many sided. Thus it is necessary to give readers expert interpretation of the event. This is often a difficult task.

It appears that too often full information on significant international events is not being supplied to the American people. "The American citizen's need to know is greater than ever before; and the means of gratifying that need, much as they have improved, have not everywhere kept pace with this accelerated requirement."[10]

The percentage of "know-nothings" or "unenlightened" will increase unless American citizens become better informed about important international events. It is certain that the American public will continue to turn to the newspaper for detailed information, will quote it and use it as a guide or a substantial authority when one is needed. The newspaper will continue to be a medium of prime importance in providing the public with foreign news. In the future newspapers will be challenged by countless

recurring problems in news gathering, selection and presentation.

There are many related difficulties and countless excuses as to why international news coverage is often deficient. We seem to be caught in a vicious circle. Newspapers do not emphasize foreign affairs because the people are not interested, and the people are not interested because they do not find much foreign news in the papers. Still, in the face of all the obstacles and excuses, what is desired is a press that presents a balanced impression and offers sufficient detailed information on foreign affairs. "The press must print more foreign news in a more readable form so that the public will become better informed. If it is not well informed, it will not demand to be made more so."[11]

The 1969 French presidential campaign and election provides a fitting test of the coverage of the selected sample of prestige papers of an important international event.

French and American diplomatic relations had been severely weakened under de Gaulle. "Americans felt slighted when he pulled out of NATO but remained a part of the treaty continuing under the umbrella of American nuclear might."[12] Impressions of Gaullism, and France, were equated with the rejection of the Test Ban Treaty, stubborn resistance in the face of numerous monetary crises

and flagrant violation of free world unity and strength by military withdrawal from NATO. Thus the issues of the campaign--foreign policy, international fiscal stability and nuclear disarmament--were matters of importance to both countries in their political, military and economic relations.

This is not to say that the American press should cover the election merely as an educational venture in foreign news presentation. Though the results of the campaign might not directly affect the average American, they would be important for the United States for they would indicate what type of cooperation could be expected from France in the future. The campaign to choose de Gaulle's successor could be expected to generate a substantial amount of news coverage.

The primary issues in the campaign had previously been created and forced on the French public by one man. De Gaulle was a modern French leader imbued with two divergent ideologies. He believed in modernizing the French economy and outmoded social structure, yet, at the same time, he could not escape the feeling that France had a mission. She had been in the past, and she must continue to be, a nation of grandeur. For de Gaulle it was not enough that Frenchmen recognized this need for grandeur. The world also had to accept this renewed French vigor and importance. As Foreign Minister Couve De Murville said on

television in November, 1967: "France's world position today has not been matched for generations. Today we enjoy an authority and a consideration we have rarely had in the past."[13] Yet to achieve this self-imposed revitalization de Gaulle resorted to the use of the national referendum eight times during his presidency. These referenda often embodied complex issues, created by de Gaulle, which were disguised in such a way that the nation believed it was approving or disapproving of the General's personal leadership.

The French, however, had grown tired of this system of government. In a way de Gaulle's success in creating a new French pride led to his own downfall. In April, 1969, when it came down to the irrevocable "oui" or "non" the nation decided they had had enough. Fifty-two per cent of the electorate voted against the referendum, and because de Gaulle insisted he would resign if the referendum was not passed by a majority, they also voted against the General himself.

Alain Poher, President of the Senate, became the Interim President of the Republic. It was somewhat ironic that one of the major provisions in the referendum was a constitutional amendment which would make the Prime Minister and not the Senate President the interim President of the nation.

Georges Pompidou, de Gaulle's former Prime Minister

and the man who was primarily responsible for resolving the May-June, 1968, student/worker crisis, declared his candidacy on April 30 and swiftly received Gaullist backing. As the campaign progressed seven candidates entered the race to become de Gaulle's successor. However, the campaign was primarily a two-man race between Poher and Pompidou.

This study will focus on the coverage by the selected sample of ten prestige newspapers, which "though not typical of the entire American press, their performance is something of a gauge of the performance of the press as a whole because they represent the best in American journalism."[14] All of these papers have experienced financial success and in addition to having extensive general circulation and readership are read by public officials, journalists, scholars and business leaders. "What these papers do in election coverage is significant because of both their influence on other newspapers and their influence on the public."[15]

These particular papers were rated by the country's editors and publishers as "superior in news coverage and integrity" and thus could be expected to present a comprehensive account of the election.

A French political campaign, however, can be somewhat difficult to understand. Many Americans believe the popular, but erroneous, concept that French political

institutions are administered by a myriad of easy-going, pseudo politicians who have no definite party or platform. This, of course, is an unfair appraisal. It must be remembered that in France the strength of the Communist Party presents a challenge which confronts none of the other traditional democracies such as the United States. In fact, the Communist voters, and their candidate Jacques Duclos, played a very significant part in the 1969 election. In the face of the Communist challenge the French have preserved their sense of proportion. The democratic decencies survive: freedom of speech, of assembly and of organization; impartial judicial treatment, even for those whom most Frenchmen regard as public enemies; and fair elections.[16]

For Americans, accustomed to a two-party political system, the French counterpart, composed of numerous parties and ideologies, can be difficult to understand. A French presidential campaign then, though it may be important and interesting, may also generate confusion for the average reader. It would appear to be the responsibility of the sample papers to provide comprehensive factual coverage with background and interpretation of the campaign and its issues and candidates. The manner in which this responsibility was met in 1969 is the subject of this study.

Previous Work

Several studies which have examined international news coverage have focused on the effect of a single event on public opinion. There have been numerous analyses conducted on the American press and campaign coverage. Many of these have utilized frequency counts of specific types of symbols and expressions to determine the degree of bias. This type of analysis is not relevant to this study because the coverage is presumably intended to furnish information on the French political scene, as reflected in specific campaign and election events and developments, and is not directed at voters.

Professor John McNelly has described the coverage of the 1956 United States presidential election by the British press in an unpublished master's thesis.[17] He concluded that the quality national newspapers furnished far more comprehensive coverage of the campaign than did the popular papers.

Hermenegildo Angeles Azarcon examined the 1953 Philippine election by ten prestige newspapers in a 1963 master's thesis and concluded that the papers studied, with one exception--the Milwaukee Journal--provided "fairly adequate coverage of the election."[18]

The standards established by Guido H. Stempel in selecting the prestige papers for his numerous studies of American presidential campaign coverage were used in this

study.[19]

Several studies were extremely helpful in providing background on newspaper content analysis of political campaigns and were used in establishing the methodology for this study.

Wayne A. Danielson's and John B. Adams' "Completeness of Press Coverage of the 1960 Campaign"[20] was particularly helpful in constructing the three hypotheses because their study was primarily concerned with "completeness" of campaign coverage as reflected in the proportion of campaign events covered, and not a study of press bias. Danielson and Adams utilized a list of significant events to measure the degree of completeness. This study also described the relationship between the number of events covered and the use of news or wire services.

"A Method For Analyzing Campaign Coverage," by Granville Price was also useful in establishing the methodology for this study because it too analyzed campaign coverage by examining the reporting or non-reporting of significant events.[21] Other studies, such as those by Margaret A. Breen, "Ten Leading Newspapers Rated For Coverage of 1967 Detroit Riots";[22] J. A. Hart, "Election Campaign Coverage In English and United States Daily Newspapers";[23] and "Press Coverage of The Havana Conference" by James E. Kipp,[24] although they dealt with more specific quantitative methods of describing coverage by examining

space and placement measurement, were also useful in providing general background on press coverage of important events.

Several other studies, though not directly related to the methodology used here, were examined to obtain a feeling for general research procedures and trends in the analysis of political campaign coverage. They are listed in the bibliography.

Method

In order to obtain the quantitative data used in the examination of the three hypotheses all items published in the sample newspapers from April 28, the day of de Gaulle's resignation, to June 19, three days following the runoff election, were studied. This involved a column-by-column scrutiny of all papers for any mention of the campaign and election. Data on all campaign and election news items, news photos, editorials, editorial columns, drawings and cartoons were recorded on a coding sheet.

In addition to finding out how much news was given the readers of the sample papers, a descriptive analysis of the news content was undertaken to determine the quality of the election reporting.

Hypothesis I. Examination will show the sample of ten prestige newspapers furnish measurable differences among themselves in the length and number of items and

degree of coverage of issues and developments.

The following criteria were used in measuring volume and comprehensiveness: (a) number of column inches, (b) number of news items, (c) number of election issues, and (d) number of main developments covered.

A news item included any story, photograph, editorial or cartoon that was relevant, regardless of length.

A list of four key election issues was taken from an article by Don Cook in the April 29 edition of the International Herald Tribune. A thorough examination of the International Herald Tribune and Le Monde for the eight-week period under study revealed three additional issues.[25] Examination indicated the amount and type of coverage devoted to each of these key issues by each prestige newspaper.

Twenty-two major campaign developments were selected from the articles on the election in the Tribune and Le Monde. The degree of coverage of these main developments was also examined.

These four methods of measuring comprehensiveness were utilized in order to present a more balanced analysis than would have been possible with the use of just one of them. A check of volume might not indicate coverage of important news events or issues. In addition, mere mention of an issue or development without sufficient explanation would not signify adequate coverage. True comprehensive

coverage by a newspaper was characterized as that which presented a substantial amount of information on all of the key issues and main developments.

Hypothesis II. All of the papers will be found to focus on the candidates and their progress rather than on the issues and developments.

Examination of this hypothesis determined whether the coverage focused on the candidates or on the issues. Since many items contained news on the candidates as well as the issues of the campaign, the hypothesis was tested by examining the individual paragraphs within the item to determine the focus of the entire item.

Each paragraph was examined to ascertain whether its emphasis was on the candidates or the issues and developments. The direction of reporting was coded for each paragraph within each item.

After ascertaining the focus of the individual stories the number of stories and number of paragraphs were totaled for each newspaper. Examination included a comparison of the total number of paragraphs in each category, and concentrated on the proportion of stories within each paper that related to issues and developments in comparison with stories on candidates and their progress.

A paragraph that contained information on campaign and election issues, though it may have mentioned the candidates, was coded as an issue paragraph. When the

paragraph did not focus on the issues and appeared to emphasize the candidates alone it was coded as a candidate paragraph. Paragraphs which were coded for candidates included both favorable and unfavorable statements about them. Those paragraphs which could not be coded in either category were coded as background.

Hypothesis III. Examination will indicate that coverage, although centered on candidates, will be concerned primarily with straight news, interpretative accounts of events, and value statements and not exhibit statements of advocacy toward candidates or issues.

All of the stories were examined to determine whether the coverage was primarily straight news and interpretative commentary of issues and events or included statements of advocacy toward specific candidates or issues.

This hypothesis was also tested by analyzing each paragraph within the item. Each paragraph was coded as a single unit to determine its primary emphasis. Straight news was defined as news which happens, or continues to happen, within the time cycle of the publication. It may also be new information about something that happened before. Background or interpretative commentary differed from straight news only in the time factor.

An interpretative, straight news, and value paragraph was coded as such if it contained no statements of

advocacy. The entire paragraph was coded as an advocacy paragraph if it contained one or more statements of advocacy toward a particular candidate or issue.

The direction of the entire item depended on the emphasis of the paragraphs within the item.

Reliability

A reliability test was conducted with an independent coder to determine the extent of agreement with the author. A description of the test and the results are included in Chapter VI.

Sources

The International Herald Tribune and Le Monde were used as background material on the campaign and election. Information from the two papers was also used in the establishment of key issues and main developments used in the examination of the first hypothesis. The primary sources studied were the ten prestige newspapers from April 28 to June 19, 1969, a period of eight weeks.[26]

The papers are: (1) the New York Times, (2) St. Louis Post Dispatch, (3) Christian Science Monitor, (4) Milwaukee Journal, (5) Washington Post, (6) Louisville Courier-Journal, (7) Chicago Tribune, (8) Atlanta Constitution, (9) Wall Street Journal, and (10) Los Angeles Times. The sample papers conveniently cover all of the geographic sections of the country. They have a combined

advocacy. The media portrayals are needed as an advocacy
platform if it is considered one of main objectives of
advocacy toward a politically conducive or image.

The distortion of the media-bias depicted on the
endurance of the journalists within the image.

Reliability

A reliability test was conducted with an independent
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Sources

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used as background materials on the campaign and election.
Information from the two papers was also used in the
establishment of key issues and both investigators used in
the examination of the first mayoralty. The primary
sources studied were the two Dunedin newspapers from
April 30 to June 19, 1983. a period of eight weeks.[30]

The papers were (1) the Star Truck Times. (2)
St. Louis Post Dispatch. (3) Christian Science Monitor.
(4) Arizona Republic. (5) Washington Post. (6) Louisville
Courier-Journal. (7) Chicago Tribune. (8) Atlanta
Constitution. (9) Wall Street Journal. and (10) Los Angeles
Times. The sample papers consistently cover all of the
geographic sections of the country. They have a combined

daily circulation of 5,997,100 and a Sunday circulation of 5,379,189.[27]

Two of the papers, the Christian Science Monitor and Wall Street Journal, do not have a Sunday edition. All of the papers are morning papers except the St. Louis Post-Dispatch and the Milwaukee Journal.

FOOTNOTES

[1]"End of an Era," Time, May 2, 1969, p. 20.

[2]Arthur Hayes Sulzberger, "The Press In World Affairs," Journal of International Affairs, Vol. IX, 1956, p. 125.

[3]John P. Robinson, "World Affairs Information and Mass Media Exposure," Journalism Quarterly, 44:23-31, p. 23.

[4]Sulzberger, op. cit.

[5]Ibid.

[6]Pamela Cheatham, "Foreign News and the American Public," Journal of International Affairs, Vol. X, 1965, p. 185.

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[24]James E. Kipp, "Press Coverage of The Havana Conference," Journalism Quarterly, 44:542-545.

[25]The International Herald Tribune and Le Monde gave the campaign and election continuous front page coverage. They also offered extensive background and interpretative commentary on the issues as well as the candidates.

[26]These papers were listed in several polls of the nation's editors and publishers which were included in the following issues of Editor & Publisher: Vol. XCIII, April 2, 1960, p. 12; Vol. XCIII, April 9, 1960, p. 66; and Vol. 105, May 2, 1970, p. 41.

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[illegible]

CHAPTER II

FRANCE: BACKGROUND AND MOOD OF THE NATION AT THE TIME OF DE GAULLE'S RESIGNATION

We have begun to reconstruct the Republic. You will continue the job. No matter how you do it, I think I can tell you in good conscience . . . that if you fail to take into account the lessons of the last fifty years of our political history . . . if you fail to take into account the absolute necessity of authority, dignity and responsibility for the Government, you will go toward a situation where one day--I predict it--you will bitterly regret the course you will have taken.

-General de Gaulle
December 31, 1945

Do you think the nation can go from one crisis to another without being led by a strong, disinterested and stable government? Yesterday, I warned you. Today, I tell you again. We need a regime in which the state has leadership and to which the people have given the mandate and the means to impose the national interest, no matter what happens.

-General de Gaulle
September 7, 1947

This, then, Frenchmen and Frenchwomen, is what inspires the Constitution which on September 28 will be submitted for your approval. With all my heart, in the name of France, I ask you to reply "yes"! If you do not, we will return that very day, to the troubles you have known. If you approve the result will be to make the Republic strong and effective.

-General de Gaulle
September 4, 1958

I am ceasing to exercise the function of President. This decision takes effect at noon today.

-General de Gaulle
April 28, 1969

FRANCE: EVOLUTION AND ASPECTS OF THE CRISIS OF THE

TIME OF THE CRISIS'S EXPLOSION(1958)

to have helped to reconstruct the Republic. You will
continue this job. Do neither more nor less, I think I
can tell you in good conscience . . . that if you fail
to take into account the lessons of the Free City-
phere of our political history . . . if you fail to
take into account the decisive necessity of exercising
dignity and responsibility for the Government, you will
be imposed a situation where one day--I predict it--you
will bitterly regret the chance you will have tried.

—General de Gaulle
September 14, 1945

So you think the nation can go time and again to
vendues without being led by a strong, disinterested
and stable government? Yesterday, I warned you.
Today, I tell you again. We need a regime to which the
state has leadership and to which the people have rights
the mandate and the means to impose the decisions
taken. No nation when dangerous

—General de Gaulle
September 7, 1945

Paris, then, Frenchmen and Frenchwomen, is even imagine
the Constitution which Republics 30 will be sub-
mitted for your approval. This will be the
mode of France, I say yes to unity "yes"! If you do
not, we will remain what we are. To the tomorrows you
have known. If you approve the Nation will be to whose
the Republic stood and attests.

—General de Gaulle
September 4, 1958

I am pledged to exercise the mission my President.
This decision takes effect at once today.

—General de Gaulle
April 28, 1958

These four quotes are important because they are symbolic of the proud, sensitive and suspicious France that existed under the Fourth and Fifth Republics. The entire period can be justly called the Gaullist era. Even though General de Gaulle was not always the actual head of the government he had warned the nation against the acceptance of the Constitution of the Fourth Republic, and the troubles that were sure to follow; and he created the Constitution of the Fifth Republic. He, more than any other French political leader, was able to see the state of the country as it changed from year to year and often from crisis to crisis.

With complete confidence in himself, and unfailing insight into the ways of his countrymen, he could "predict" their growing sense of irresponsibility in 1945; "tell them again" in 1947; and "ask" them to approve the 1958 constitution, saying that if they did not they would "return" to the troubles they had known. Finally, with a still keen sense of awareness of his own power he resigned, realizing that France no longer needed his leadership.

It is extremely difficult to describe the French character. They are garrulous, capricious, obstinate and above all proud. They have always believed that their country was something special, a perfect hexagon. "What other people have made the shape of their country an esthetic value and a source of moral satisfaction."[1] Other

countries are neuter in gender but France is feminine. La Belle France, she is called. For centuries French children have been brought up to believe in the superiority of French civilization, and of "Gaullocentric nombrillisme--the conviction that France is the navel of the world."[2] Understanding this point of view is important because it helps to explain the French belief in de Gaulle and, specifically, why they turned to him in periods of crisis. Only he understood the true mission of France and the need for French grandeur.

For the people of France the physical size of their country and their relatively small population was of little importance. Actually France is about the same size as Texas, and slightly smaller than Kenya, with only 50 million people. A surprising 20 per cent of this total population lives in the Paris area. It is certainly not an ethnic unit, but rather an historical aggregate of zones with an extremely large, by today's standards, peasant population. Almost 20 per cent of the French still live off the land. Thus extreme contrasts exist between urban and rural life. The French peasant still constitutes an important political force and this force is one of the reasons why France has always had numerous political parties and ideologies. Peasants and rural workers have traditionally resented the fact that much of French government and history is simply Paris history presented as a "fait

accompli" to the provinces.

The inclusion in the electorate of these provinces was important in the final settlement of the May-June 1968 Student/Worker crisis. Even though the Gaullist party received a majority of the seats in the National Assembly, the troubles within the government that were brought to light during the crisis foretold the end of the Gaullist era.

France has been ruled by many historic figures whose exploits and personalities, without any degree of distortion, actually seem to be larger than life. Their records of accomplishment are clear. There was a Louis XIV and XVI, a Napoleon, and of course a de Gaulle. Each of them recognized and fulfilled the French desire for grandeur and world recognition and the need to participate in a grand epic. History also has shown that Frenchmen have often been uncertain in their choice of a leader. On several occasions they have had to choose sides. Patriotism was not always a national state of mind.

After the costly victory of World War I the French seemed to be prepared, at least subconsciously, for a defeat in the next war. For all Frenchmen patriotism had ceased to be a clear-cut choice. For some it meant Petain, the hero of the last war and the figure head leader of the Vichy government. For others it meant de Gaulle, the self-exiled young general who headed the Free French resistance

in England. There were sound patriotic reasons to be aligned with either side. This compelling need for a choice, and the idea that patriotism often became a matter of political expediency, was important because it carried over into the thinking of numerous governments in the Fourth Republic and in the end caused the downfall of the Republic itself.

During the years of the Fourth Republic the French state took over the essential sectors of society. "It took over all of higher education and most of primary and secondary education. It took over radio and television to control public opinion. It took over culture to shape public opinion. It took over urban planning to control the way French towns look. And it took over an important part of the economy to make it conform to national goals."[3]

In many cases the French people had little to say in connection with the State's assumption, or usurpation, of additional power and influence. The State had even retained the right to confer an academic degree. It was a kind of slowly growing awareness among the people that while they had entered into an era of economic prosperity and resumed a position of world importance they had sacrificed many traditional customs and freedoms in the attainment of this new position. These misgivings were an important factor in the May-June crisis in 1968.

Disenchantment With the General

That special bond between de Gaulle and the people began to weaken in the Spring of 1968. The disenchantment felt by many sectors of French society erupted in Paris in May and June. In the beginning it was tens of thousands of students and workers who joined together to express their discontent with the existing order of government. As the protest grew it encompassed all sectors of French society. It was not a movement primarily designed to win material benefits, though there were underlying demands involving the standard of living. The protest leaders did not demand the wholesale dissolution of all French government institutions, nor did they demand the installation of a "people's democracy." They did, however, succeed in creating a sense of awareness in all sectors of French society about the present form of authority.

For the first time in years France began to take stock of its basic freedoms. What began as a strike for more classrooms, better library conditions and the hiring of more professors soon touched many sensitive areas of French social and government structure. Many of the issues raised by the strikers, such as the government controlled radio and television network (ORTF), the "force de frappe" (French nuclear strike force), and European development would become primary campaign issues just one year later.

As the crisis began to spread the French people began to examine the society that was being so heavily criticized. In one sense it was strongly oligarchic. "It was a kind of a mutual-assurance society against change. This was sought by leadership groups which formed a conspiracy to restrict membership in the oligarchy to which they belonged and also to limit risks to collective action. Nearly all professions and business firms have engaged in such restrictive practices."[4]

In another sense it was a society that was "structured on distant centers of authority whose decisions are not subject to question."[5] De Gaulle of course was the personal embodiment of this "distant center of authority." To many Frenchmen it seemed that while they enjoyed the material benefits of a healthy state they really had no vital part in the creation of the system that ensured the growth. More importantly, many had come to suspect that the government, as reflected in the "distant center of authority" concept began to breed irresponsible conduct.

"People live in isolation at each level of the government and social hierarchy with each group enjoying its own special privileges, whether they be great or small, and each separated as much as possible from the rest. Since centralization is the norm any change in the system is naturally impossible."[6]

Put very simply, all of the people of France were

caught between a mounting pace of change that was taking place in all European countries, and a petrified society that believed in archaic authoritarian social customs.

Pierre Mendes-France said in May: "The crisis dramatizes the determination of millions of Frenchmen no longer to be considered as impotent subjects in a harsh, inhumane, conservative society, but rather to perform their own role freely in a society they can look upon as really their own."[7]

At the inception of the crisis General de Gaulle was in Rumania. To the amazement of many French, and others throughout the world, he did not immediately return to France. De Gaulle was pressing the Rumanians to change their restrictive practices, yet he did not realize he had a problem at home. When he did return he again prevailed on all of France to "put a stop to this hatred" and "save our nation." Again his last minute plea was successful. In the Summer election of 1968 the Gaullists received a majority of the seats in the National Assembly. It was the first time any party had done so. However, the seeds of doubt had been planted in the minds of the French. In their vote of confidence for de Gaulle they seemed to be grasping at one last chance to preserve the old system, yet knowing that it had finally outgrown its usefulness. They did not like being pressured into change by Parisian mobs, yet they must have felt the changes would some day occur.

or at least be discussed.

Because de Gaulle was not in the country when the crisis began, his Prime Minister Georges Pompidou, with the aid of Andre Malraux--Culture Minister, swiftly moved to strengthen the government position. After the crisis had been settled and calm had been restored to Parisian streets most French political speculators gave Pompidou most of the credit for preventing a complete collapse of the government. De Gaulle reacted by "gracelessly sacking" Pompidou as Prime Minister and appointing Maurice Couve De Murville to take his place.[8] To most Frenchmen it must have seemed as if Pompidou had done all too well in handling the crisis.

An uneasy truce period followed and in April 1969 General de Gaulle proposed his last referendum. Basically it was a plan to decentralize the country's top-heavy administration. What de Gaulle proposed was a redistribution of France's historic 95 provinces into 21 economic regions, each having its own legislature. He also added a provision to downgrade the Senate and turn it into a "council of wise men without power."[9]

The Senate represented the country's traditional political personnel, while the Assembly was much more open to the winds of change. The Senate was dominated by old Republicans of conservative outlook who normally did not approve of Gaullist tactics. In 1962 a bitter feud

developed between Gaston Monnerville, the Senate President, and de Gaulle. Monnerville denounced de Gaulle's referendum, which introduced direct election of the President, at every available opportunity. In the next few years government ministers were forbidden to speak in the Senate, and the Senate was permitted to deal only with lowly ministers of state. "The President of the Republic no longer extended official hospitality to the President of the Senate or shook his hand at formal functions. There were frequent public and private proposals (or threats) to reform the Senate by amalgamating it with the Economic and Social Council."[10]

In an attempt to reduce the bitterness between de Gaulle and Monnerville, Alain Poher, previously the Chairman of the European Parliament at Strasbourg, was elected to succeed Monnerville in October of 1968. It is significant that one of the proposals in the defeated referendum was a law to change the succession to the Presidency. The change would make the Prime Minister and not the Senate President the Interim President of the Republic. It is ironic that Poher, the man who was selected to improve relations with the Elysee, should be instrumental in the defeat of the referendum and would assume the Presidency upon de Gaulle's resignation. It was clear that de Gaulle was appealing for a final three years in office to finish his life's work. It was also clear

that he need not have turned the issue into a vote of confidence for himself; because he was elected for seven years without conditions or restrictions.

Shortly after midnight on the 28th of April, the voting trend unmistakable, de Gaulle sent a two-sentence communique to Paris from his home in Colombey-Les-Deux-Eglises. It said: "I am ceasing the exercise of my functions as President of the Republic. This decision takes effect at noon today."

Quite naturally the majority of Frenchmen privately wondered if there would be a Sixth Republic. "The fact that de Gaulle could be succeeded in an orderly presidential election rather than through the process of revolution was in itself a denial of the French experience in which the passing of a great man means the passing of a regime and the beginning of a period of confusion and strife."[11]

Experts on French political history such as Dorothy Maud Pickels and Jean Blondel doubted whether the Fifth Republic would continue after de Gaulle's resignation or defeat. Blondel asserted that the "Fifth Republic is likely to retreat after de Gaulle to a style of politics not very different from the one practiced in the Third and Fourth Republics."[12] Dorothy Maud Pickels bluntly said in the preface of her book on the Fifth Republic that: "It is unlikely to outlive his presidency."[13]

Actually this type of view is misleading because the Prime Minister is responsible to Parliament and the system cannot work if he and the President disagree. In other words it would be extremely hard for past habits to reassert themselves when the government has control of Parliamentary business. "The deputies cannot return to their ancient sport of big game hunting--the incessant hazing and frequent slaughter of governments, without breaking down strong constitutional, political and social barriers."[14]

Even though de Gaulle may have governed by monologue, and some of his methods were outmoded, it was unlikely that the people would assent to a return of the Fourth Republic leadership of traditional political parties. "The masses in France who feel more than they reason, do not know very well what they want but they know perfectly well what they do not want. They do not want to return to the past."[15] The old traditional parties were too closely linked with the past in the collective consciousness of the French people by their emblems, slogans and specifically the names of their leaders, to be able to escape from unfavorable public reaction and achieve a rebirth.

De Gaulle himself had succeeded in strengthening the Presidency and ensuring the peaceful election of his successor.

A Choice

The 1969 presidential campaign and election certainly provided a contrast for the French voter. On the one hand there was Georges Pompidou, de Gaulle's former Prime Minister and confidant, who eagerly announced his candidacy on the 30th of April. On the other hand there was Alain Poher, the complete antithesis of all the Gaullists represented. An early protege of Robert Schumann, Poher had served three terms as Chairman of the European Parliament at Strasbourg. Pompidou had campaigned for the referendum, Poher against it. Pompidou, though he modified his major beliefs as the campaign progressed, stressed the need to adhere to strict Gaullist policies. Poher believed just the opposite. He even went so far as to propose a single European currency.

At the outset most Frenchmen must have wondered what kind of a campaign would ensue should Poher declare his candidacy. It must be explained that under de Gaulle during the 1965 election Gaston Defferre and Jean-Louis Tixier-Vignancour were "tolerated" by de Gaulle, but were not given any time on the government controlled radio and television network--even though they offered to pay. In France police and other government workers are used to put up campaign posters and quite frequently tear them down when they are anti-Gaullist.

Frenchmen also wondered if they would experience

5. Quotes

The 1948 presidential campaign and election certainly provides a contrast for the recent voting. In the one hand there was Governor Dewey, the country's common Prime Minister and comfortable, who modestly announced his candidacy on the 30th of April. On the other hand there was Miss Truman, the incongruously unfashionable of all the Democratic representatives. An early picture of Roosevelt Palmer had secured their status as Christmas of the Progressive Party at Pittsburgh. Progress had campaigned for the reinstatement. Wright explained it. Progress through be politics has begun defeated on the campaign proclaimed, attempted the need to address to market Democratic politics. Adams initiated just the opposite. He mean must be for as to propose a single European currency.

At the outset most Republican seats have moderate view that of a campaign would wanna should Sydney Perkins pie candidacy. It must be explained that under Dr Gavin during the 1953 citizenship Dawson Politics and Democratic Tyler-Kingsmore were "polarized" by do Seattle, but much dear down any time at the Georgetown nonpolluted rabbit was televised network—even though they adhered to Day. In Prague police and other government workers may need to put on completely generic and quite lightweight rear view shows when they are anti-Semitic.

Protestors also wondered if they would reinstitute

full freedom of the press. They had not under the Fifth Republic.

The Issues

One of the major issues was the state controlled radio and television network (ORTF). A side issue was the CRS or special secret police. This police force was a purely partisan Gaullist institution that was used to spy on anti-Gaullist groups and individuals. They wore distinctive uniforms and took their orders directly from the Minister of Interior. An extremely powerful group, they were organized on a territorial basis with cells in all large cities. The existence of the CRS was a distinct sense of embarrassment among all freedom-loving Frenchmen in the Fifth Republic. Immediately after de Gaulle's resignation Alain Poher fired the head of the CRS and placed the organization in a limbo status. He also announced that all candidates would be accorded equal privileges on radio and T.V. and would be given two free hours on the ORTF. This was a very important break with long-standing French precedent.

Somewhat comically, the use of free radio and television included all candidates from Pompidou to Louis Ducatel, who bragged: "I seem to get better and better the more I speak." It made little difference what he said because he was the candidate for those who "didn't like anybody else."

It is natural to assume that a modern country in

fill throngs of the parks. They had not under the rights
legislation.

The Issues

One of the major issues was the rights concerning
radio and television research (CRTC). I also knew the
CRA to monitor another problem. They getting power over a
purely partisan political institution that was used to spy
on anti-apartheid groups and individuals. They have
diametric positions and soon could wholly close
the ministry of Interior. Or potentially bomb.
They were organized as a territorial basis with cells in
all large cities. The existence of the CRA was a direct
cause of disagreements among all freedom-loving Canadians
in the fight against apartheid. Immediately after Dr Smith's
resignation Klaas Viljoen cited the need of the CRA was
placed the organization in a large sense. He also
announced that all conditions would be immediately repeal
Relations on radio and 4-V. and would be given two five
hours on the CBET. This was a very important break with
long-standing Broads precedent.

Somewhat eventually, the use of these media and relat-
vision included all conditions form regulation to Canada
Quebec). Who knowing "I mean to our Nations and Soccer the
more I speak." It made little difference when he said
because he was the candidate for those who "didn't like
anybody else."

It is natural to assume that a medium commonly so

Western Europe, regardless of a belief in the "Big Four," would not have its radio and television network muted by flagrant government control. Such is not the case in France. The ORTF is characterized by outright lies, omissions, propaganda and daily government interference to suppress or emphasize news items. "The eight million owners of French television sets are treated to a sunshine image of France as a world leader with no domestic problems, in contrast to the Vietnam War and race riots in the United States."[16]

Jacques Soustelle, who wrote A New Road For Europe, exiled from his own country because he vociferously opposed Gaullist policies, says that the "press, radio and T.V. inject the French people with a daily dose of lies. By the untiring repetition of a lie, preferably as shameless as possible, the propaganda machine makes a truth of it. For millions of Frenchmen it is the truth."[17]

Those who watch French T.V. can only conclude that the French live in a world of bicycle races, Olympic ski teams and pop singers.

In France the Minister of Information has a direct private telephone line to the executive offices of the ORTF. It is absolutely necessary that a T.V. commentator be a loyal party man first and a journalist second. In addition to the Ministry of Information any government agency can exercise its right to censor national television. "The crude slant on domestic news is one reason why the

May-June events in 1968 took public opinion by surprise. It was like learning that the plague has hit Camelot."[18]

During the crisis the T.V. news commentators were told to stress the same old French pomp and circumstance. "If the Breton farmers were burning tons of artichokes that day, they were told to show some Vietnam War footage. When Georges Bidault returned from exile before the June 1968 elections he said in a press conference: 'Don't vote Communist, don't vote Gaullist.' Only the first half of the sentence was reproduced in the evening news."[19]

For the first time, in June, 1968, Frenchmen were able to see what actually went on in the National Assembly when debates were telecast live. This initiative did not signal a wholesale change in long-accepted restrictive policies in news management. When 92 employees of the ORTF went on strike in May for greater freedom 57 were fired, though they were promised that no official sanction would be taken against them.

One can believe Jacques Soustelle when he says: "The brainwashing machine hammers relentlessly at the French listeners and viewers in a manner reminiscent of Goebels. The themes are the same: Worship of the leader and the greatness and prosperity of the country, thanks to His great knowledge of all matters."[20]

A description of the fourth estate yields an equally gloomy picture. "Some form of censorship of the

written or spoken word has existed in France ever since Philippe Le Hardi in 1275 put booksellers under the surveillance of the University to prevent them from peddling seditious material. No French regime, not even the strongest ones, like the absolute monarchy or the Fifth Republic, has ever felt secure enough to allow full freedom of the press."[21]

Jacques Soustelle was one of de Gaulle's most important lieutenants in 1958. He helped to organize the Gaullist Party, the UNR, and bring the General back to power. However, he, and many others, soon became disillusioned over the General's insistence that Algeria be granted its independence. Soustelle, after several public airings of his views, which disagreed with de Gaulle's was exiled from France. His book was written and published outside of France. It was later smuggled into the country and became a best seller.

At the time of the book's popularity employees of the ORTF were directed not to mention the book and no newspaper reviewed it or accepted paid advertisements for it. Soustelle is still not allowed to return to France because of his severe criticism of the Gaullist government.

Jean-Jacques Servain Schrieber, chairman of the Radical Socialist Party, who lost a runoff election against Jacques Chaban-Delmas for a National Assembly seat on September 21, 1970, is one of France's most respected authors. A former correspondent for Le Monde in 1956 and

1957, he wrote a penetrating book about the Algerian War called Lieutenant in Algeria. In it he described the atrocities committed by the French troops against the FLN. As soon as the book was published he was accused of "weakening the morale of the French Army," arrested and ordered to stand trial. He was later acquitted.

The French news agency, Agence France Press, receives half of its budget from the state, thus it cannot be called an official agency, or an independent one. Members of its staff move back and forth between journalistic and government jobs.

The existence of Le Monde allows the student of French journalistic practices to state that the picture is not entirely negative. Most international communication researchers agree that Le Monde is the one newspaper that keeps the French press respectable.

It is easy to understand why the issue of free speech and press was such an important one. Poher charged that the ORTF "chloroformed public opinion" and he called for "impartial information and free expression" on the radio and television. His advocacy of such a concept seemed to give him a special exalted position among the average Frenchmen, even though the position did not appear to be of a lasting nature. Pompidou hesitated, then endorsed a position similar to that of Poher.

Britain and Europe

This was the number one issue because it involved the whole future of Europe. This question concerned France's leadership and diplomatic dynamism with its neighbors and partners and the political and economic solidarity of more than 300 million Europeans.[22] Former Prime Minister Paul Reynaud once said: "As long as we have de Gaulle, we will not have Europe." To which he could have added: "As long as we have de Gaulle the unity of the West will be threatened and the Western alliance will be in danger."[23]

Under de Gaulle France had refused to talk to the British about anything concerning a closer European community. The General was convinced, and Couve De Murville clearly followed the party line, that Europe should remain "European," that is, without America and without Great Britain, which was a faithful ally and friend of America. In other words, "de Gaulle considered Britain as America's Trojan horse in Western Europe."[24]

Alain Poher, a truly dedicated European in the broader sense, presented a sharply contrasting viewpoint to the traditional Gaullist suspicions adhered to by Pompidou. Poher, quite naturally, favored reopening negotiations with Britain concerning her entry into the Common Market. As the campaign progressed Pompidou, in vaguely worded symbols of Gaullist rhetoric, appeared to have second thoughts in this area.

Geneva Disarmament Negotiations
and the Force De Frappe

General de Gaulle had boycotted the negotiations ever since they began in their present form in 1962. In 1969 the United States and the Soviet Union, tired of looking at France's empty chair, were contemplating a change in the composition of the committee with the addition or subtraction of various states. Because France had not taken an active role in the negotiations it was assumed that she was one of the countries that would be eliminated from the committee.

For France committee membership involved a larger nuclear issue. For many years she had been seeking closer ties with Red China. Early in 1964 de Gaulle had "officially recognized" the Peking government and instructed Couve De Murville to announce that France would support Red China's admission to the United Nations. France, along with Communist China, had been the only nation not to sign the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty. She had refused to cooperate with her European partners in all matters dealing with nuclear power. De Gaulle called this another form of "Atlanticism." At the same time France was continuing to build an expensive number of prototypes which would someday comprise the much-celebrated, but ineffective "force de frappe."

The most essential part of the "force de frappe," the French "mini-bombe," had become de Gaulle's "idee fixee."

Chapter IV: Conclusion

The most essential part of the "Rocco de Sorge,"
the French "disk-drive," and because do Sorge's "disk drive,"
over since they began in their previous form in 1993. In
1949 the United States and the Soviet Union, fluent of
leaving of Europe's newly built, were contemplating a
dynamic in the composition of the countries with the "addi-
tion or subtraction of existing systems." Because France had
not taken an active role in the negotiations it was assumed
that she was one of the countries that would be eliminated
from the competition.

The French constitution constantly impelled a leader
implant issue. For many years who had been wanting closer
ties with Red China. Nearly at that de Gaulle had
"officially recognized" the Beijing government and instructed
Comte de Rueville to reconsider that French would support Red
China's admission to the United Nations. France, along
with Communist China, had been the only nation not to sign
the Geneva Test Ban Treaty. She had refused to cooperate
with her European partners in all matters dealing with
nuclear power. De Gaulle united this another term of
"diminishing." It the whom time France was continuing to
build an independent wonder of psychology which would nearly
recapture the world-reluctance. But invalidating "Rocco de
Sorge."

The most essential part of the "Rocco de Sorge,"
the French "disk-drive," and because do Gaulle's "disk drive,"

As early as July 23, 1964, he declared that France would "soon" be in possession of 200 A-bombs of the Hiroshima type. It made little difference that the Mirage jets, costing over one million dollars, that were to carry the bombs could not reach Russia without the help of tanker planes. France had no tanker planes.

"France's highest officials declared that the bomb may be useless against the Russians, but could be quite useful in case of another war with Germany."[25] For de Gaulle the bomb was a "psychological necessity for a nation whose armies once made Europe tremble."[26]

Development of the bomb was proof of the nation's strength and scientific capacity, and the price of admission to the "club des grands." "Without it, France would be an undeveloped Nation. With it, she was in the company of Russia, China, England and the United States."[27] For the Gaullists the "force de frappe" was worthwhile for the side effects alone.

Poher believed that France should resume her seat at the council table. He recognized that the "force de frappe" was too expensive to scrap so he advocated incorporating it with other NATO nuclear forces. Pompidou also appeared to support the idea that France should take an effective part in future multi-national nuclear talks. His replies to queries on the "force de frappe" were considerably more vague. He often resorted to the old Gaullist stand that the fundamental idea of a nuclear alliance was

unrealistic because no nation was prepared to risk its own total destruction in defense of another.

Israeli Arms Embargo

As early as 1965 de Gaulle, through his special representative Edgar Faure, began to seek a "rapprochement" between France and the United Arab Republic. In 1968 he imposed a total boycott on all arms shipments to Israel. The principal issue was the non-delivery of 50 Mirage fighter aircraft. Years previous the French government had received payment for the planes, which they promptly built at the Dassault Aircraft Plant in Bordeaux. At the time of the election they still sat in the Bordeaux countryside, paid for and with Israeli markings on the fuselages. In the meantime, the Government had grown increasingly friendly with the Arab states.

At first both candidates preferred to ignore the issue, hoping it would somehow disappear. Poher stated midway through the campaign that he favored lifting the embargo while Pompidou spoke of "recognizing Israel's existence and the right for guaranteed safe borders." Pompidou implied that he would not be in favor of a ban against any country. It was an area of debate which aroused "tres importante polemiques."

The Franc

The French franc had enjoyed a tenuous confidence for several years. The bills for Gaullist grandeur and

1968's worker/student crisis had not been paid. France had not recovered from the six-week industrial shutdown during the 1968 crisis period, and the 13 per cent pay raise granted to get the workers back at their jobs. At the time of the April referendum the General was having trouble with the trade unions, which threatened to weaken further the stability of the franc.

On several occasions General de Gaulle rejected a devaluation of the franc even though his European partners, and the United States, encouraged it. The franc was not devalued in 1968 because de Gaulle had been willing to put seven billion dollars of reserves and credits on the line to protect current exchange rates. However, ever since the 1968 crisis France had imported considerably more goods than she had exported. Her gold reserves had dwindled to four million dollars.

Whoever France's new President would be, he would be faced with serious economic difficulties. These would probably include wage negotiations and the threat of devaluation. In the face of these problems the President-elect would have to restore French confidence in the franc and take corrective measures to stop the adverse balance of payments. If a devaluation was decided upon, and it was as high as 20 to 50 per cent, it could exert pressure on the British pound and probably force a realignment of all Western European currency.

In early campaign speeches Pompidou promised to defend the franc by expanding the French economy. He was careful not to mention devaluation. As the leader of Centrist opposition, Alain Poher had the advantage of being able to comfortably attack ten years of Gaullist spending policies. He proposed to cut government spending on what he termed "prestige projects." He also called for reorganization of the international monetary system. Poher said he opposed devaluation without corresponding changes in other countries.

NATO (OTAN)

De Gaulle began his total withdrawal, or "de-integration," in late 1964 when he withdrew all of the French naval forces. By the end of 1966 France had withdrawn all of its military forces and the NATO headquarters was moved to Bruselles. She still remained a member of the treaty and thus would receive allied nuclear support in the event of actual hostilities. Ever since the invasion of Czechoslovakia, however, there appeared to be a subtle change in emphasis in France. Though it was doubtful if there would be a reversal of de Gaulle's "de-integration" order, it looked as if there was some room for improvement.

Actually France was not merely "de-integrated," she was totally isolated from all of the planning decisions on which her security ultimately rested.

Poher emphasized the need for renewed cooperation with the West and within NATO. As was previously mentioned, he advocated incorporating the "force de frappe" with other allied nuclear forces. Pompidou did not go that far. He did propose "explanatory" talks. In numerous thinly disguised endorsements for NATO he talked of "maintaining the Atlantic Alliance."

Dissolution of L'Assemblee Nationale and the Role of the President

This particular issue was not mentioned in Don Cook's article but it became one of the central campaign issues. As early as the 10th of May, before Poher declared his candidacy, Pompidou intimated he might make an issue over the fact that should Poher win he would have to call new national elections because he would be forced to work with a Gaullist majority in the National Assembly. To many French men and women this situation evoked all too clear memories of France's "revolving door governments" during the Fourth Republic. Poher replied by saying he would dissolve the Assembly only if it passed a motion of censure against the Prime Minister and the designated cabinet.

Under the constitution a vote can be forced on the cabinet's program or on a declaration of general policy. This challenge can be instituted by either the opposition or the government itself. The Prime Minister would be forced to resign if a majority of the Assembly voted in favor of the censure. It is possible that the defeated

Prime Minister, after the initiation of a new program, could be reappointed and receive a new vote of confidence. Pompidou did precisely this in 1962.

An equally important campaign issue which seemed to develop as the campaign unfolded was the conduct of the President. In an obvious maneuver to undermine Gaullist attempts to prolong the "national Savior" image, Poher said the President's role should be that of an "umpire" or "prime mover." He had in mind someone who was not a mere figure head as Rene Coty had been and not as all-powerful as de Gaulle.

President Coty, fully aware that his only function was to keep the President's chair warm, said: "I owe the job to a prostate operation which kept me out of the debates over the European Defense Community."[28]

The views of Pompidou and Poher were important because the Constitution gave the President enormous powers, powers which were never fully used under de Gaulle but could conceivably be misused by future Presidents. In the title related to the President many functions are enumerated. "Some are powers the President can exercise with the approval of the Prime Minister; others are things he can do alone. What he can do alone is, first, to choose the Prime Minister; second, to dissolve the Assembly; third, in certain instances, to take full powers and establish something like a dictatorship."[29]

Actually the powers of the President do not make him the head of the government. According to the Constitution he is not able to run the daily affairs of the State, though de Gaulle gave this area a different interpretation. The President is able to influence the government, and to apply pressure on the Assembly, by the double threat of submitting a law to a referendum or of dissolving the Assembly.

At first Pompidou disagreed with Poher, but as the campaign advanced he endorsed a proposal much like that of Poher, still insisting that should Poher win he would be forced to call new elections for the National Assembly.

The Candidates

A total of seven candidates sought to become the next President of France. The first round of elections to choose de Gaulle's successor was scheduled for June 1, with a runoff on June 15, 1969, should no candidate receive 50 per cent of the vote on the first ballot. Georges Pompidou had announced in January, 1969, that he would be a candidate for the presidency if and when de Gaulle resigned. During the referendum, at the General's request, Pompidou worked vigorously for a "yes" vote while somehow managing to give the impression that his heart was not in it. It came as no surprise when he declared his candidacy for the presidency and swiftly received the support of the Gaullist Party, the Union For The New Republic (UNR).

The party itself grew out of the old Gaullist Party called the Rassemblement du Peuple Francais (RPF) in 1946. It was renamed the UNR in 1958 and has since been the major political party in the Assembly. As previously stated, its deputies received a majority of the seats in the 1968 elections. Party policies embody a modest nationalism movement, and it is situated roughly in the center and left of center in the political spectrum.

Alain Poher waited until the deadline on May 13 to announce his candidacy. During the two weeks between de Gaulle's resignation and his own declaration he attempted to re-establish the traditional "Third Force" in French politics of all leftists, centrists and right wing socialists. He was not successful.

He received the backing of the Christian Democrats or Mouvement Republicain Populaire (MRP) and other small parties. The MRP traditionally supported liberal institutions and was among the first to preach European unity. Probably its most famous member was Robert Schumann, who still remains the symbol of European integration. "The MRP was one of the main proponents of European modernization in the economic and social field. Yet it gained little credit in the minds of Frenchmen and has been constantly assailed by politicians of all sides."[30] The MRP is left of center in political thinking.

The attempted "Third Force" coalition would have included all of the left of center socialists and could

conceivably have defeated Pompidou on the first ballot. Between the 2nd and 7th of May the attempted coalition fell apart. It did so primarily because Gaston Defferre, Socialist Mayor of Marseilles, decided to run as a United Socialist candidate. Defferre had tried to run against de Gaulle in 1965 but gave way to party pressure and finally endorsed Francois Mitterand, who narrowly missed defeating de Gaulle. In 1969 Defferre sought again, and finally received, the backing of the Socialist Party. In the process he alienated Mitterand, who was the leader of a small group of political leaders called the Convention of Republican Institutions. Defferre had hoped to receive the support of all Socialists and Radical Socialist Party members and form a United Socialist Party similar to the Federation de la Gauche Democrat et Socialiste that was formed at the time of the 1965 election for Mitterand. Because Mitterand decided not to support Defferre, the coalition failed.

Michel Rocard, the leader of the Unified Socialist party and the only important socialist leader to actively support the students and workers in the May-June crisis, also decided not to support Defferre, and he too became a candidate.

This breakdown among the socialist parties left the Communists in an uncomfortable position. They could not support either candidate and were forced to back the

candidacy of Jacques Duclos, chairman of the Partie Communiste Francais. The PCF has traditionally polled about 20 per cent of the vote in French elections. It is both a large and tightly knit organization which is particularly strong in Marseilles, Le Havre and the Paris "Red Belt." Unlike other European Communist parties, it does not obtain much more than half of its voters from manual workers.

The mere presence of the party accounts for the squabbling over ideology among the other parties of the left. This divisiveness among the left over concrete proposals and platforms explains why the left has never been a cohesive unit able to work out the problems of opposition to the parties of the right.

The candidacy of Defferre, Duclos and Rocard was a serious blow to the centrist opposition, whose members had effectively campaigned for the defeat of the April 27th referendum. Yet, early French public opinion polls showed Poher was only one percentage point behind Pompidou and would probably win in June with leftist and socialist backing.

It should be explained that France automatically accepts the runoff election and the realignment of positions and endorsements for the final vote. In 1965 Francois Mitterand was a distant second to de Gaulle on the first ballot with only the backing of his own party; but narrowly

missed defeating him on the runoff ballot when other non-Gaullist party members gave him their support in an attempt to defeat the General.

Though the campaign was actually between Poher and Pompidou, no French political campaign is complete without at least a few "folklorique" candidates. This election was no exception. On the 16th of May the National Assembly cleared the candidacy of Alain Krivine, a second string "barricade manager" during the May-June events, as the Trotskyite representative. The Assembly also cleared Louis Ducatel, writer-speaker-millionaire, as the candidate for "everybody who is not satisfied." Actually in France there are not many things that are easier than running for President. The basic requirements are citizenship, $2,000 and 100 sponsoring signatures from among the thousands of elected officials known as the "notables." Krivine, then a Private in the French Army fulfilling his active duty obligation, would, if elected, find himself in the dubious position of commanding all of France's military forces while still a Private; and Ducatel would face a National Assembly without one deputy pledged to support him. Actually neither man expected to win--win more than one per cent of the total vote. Both hoped to do better than Paul Giffon, a Left-Bank sunbather, who ran for deputy in 1968, and got one vote.

The campaign was a two-man race, between Poher and

Pompidou, and the outcome would decide whether the country would be governed in the next seven years by a President who professed a loyalty to basic Gaullist politics or who preferred a break with traditional Gaullist doctrine.

> The question now is whether Gaullism goes out with de Gaulle or whether the impending Presidential election will return a Gaullist successor anyway. Whether Pompidou or an opposition leader is elected, a new period is opening that cannot fail to bring fundamental changes both within France and in the French role in the world.[31]

FOOTNOTES

[1]Sanche de Gramont, The French. Portrait of a People, G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1969, p. 15.

[2]Ibid., p. 17.

[3]Ibid., p. 196.

[4]Jean-Jacques Servain-Schrieber, The Spirit Of May, McGraw Hill Book Co., New York, 1968, p. 23.

[5]Ibid., p. 24.

[6]Servain-Schrieber, op. cit., p. 25.

[7]Ibid., p. 24.

[8]"A Clear Alternative," Time, May 9, 1969, p. 30.

[9]"End Of An Era," Time, May 2, 1969, p. 20.

[10]Philip Williams, The French Parliament 1958-1967, Longmans, Green & Co., London, p. 31.

[11]De Gramont, op. cit., p. 141.

[12]Jean Blondel, The Government of France, Thomas Y. Crowell Co., New York, 1968, p. 191.

[13]Dorothy Maud Pickels, The Fifth French Republic, Melburn & Co., London, 1960, p. 7.

[14]Williams, op. cit., p. 121.

[15]Jacques Soustelle, A New Road For France, Robert Speller and Sons, New York, 1965, p. 138.

[16]De Gramont, op. cit., p. 234.

[17]Soustelle, op. cit., p. 9.

[18]De Gramont, op. cit., p. 234.

[19]Ibid., p. 235.

Footnotes

[1] Jeanne de Salzmann, The Reality of Becoming (New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc., 1971), p. 11.

[2] Ibid., p. 11.

[3] Ibid., p. 198.

[4] Peter Ouspensky, The Psychology of Man's Possible Evolution (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1950), p. 83.

[5] Ibid., p. 84.

[6] Ouspensky, The Fourth Way, p. 12.

[7] Ibid., p. 84.

[8] "A Closer Alternative," Time, May 5, 1969, p. 84.

[9] "God Is As Old," Time, May 5, 1969, p. 29.

[10] Philip Wylie, The Answer (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1971), p. 11.

[11] The Answer, pp. viii-ix, 141.

[12] John Bleibel, The Conscious Use of Dreams (Los Angeles: J. P. Tarcher, Inc., 1975), p. 121.

[13] Theresa Brosse, Self-Knowledge (New York: Philosophical Library, Inc., 1960), p. 7.

[14] Williams, The Fifth Dimension, p. 133.

[15] Theresa Bonnefoi, I Have Seen The Dragon (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1965), p. 139.

[16] The Answer, pp. viii, 234.

[17] Bonnefoi, The Fifth, p. 9.

[18] The Answer, pp. viii, 234.

[19] Ibid., p. 139.

[20]Soustelle, op. cit., p. 234.

[21]De Gramont, op. cit., p. 227.

[22]Don Cook, "A Choice For France," International Herald Tribune, April 29, 1969, p. 3.

[23]Soustelle, op. cit., p. 262.

[24]Ibid., p. 267.

[25]Servain-Schrieber, op. cit., p. 75.

[26]De Gramont, op. cit., p. 44.

[27]Ibid., p. 191.

[28]Ibid., p. 237.

[29]Raymond Aaron, France, The New Republic, Oceana Publications, New York, 1960, p. 23.

[30]Blondel, op. cit., p. 108.

[31]Editorial, New York Times, April 29, 1969, p. 26.

[30] Kennedy, op. cit., p. 274.

[31] The economist, op. cit., p. 227.

[32] "The Coach," "A Changing Role Division," Industrial and Engineering Training, April 1969, p. 3.

[33] Kennedy, op. cit., p. 268.

[34] Ibid., p. 247.

[35] Harvard Business, op. cit., p. 73.

[36] The Economist, op. cit., p. 44.

[37] Ibid., p. 191.

[38] Ibid., p. 227.

[39] Raymond Mason, Etienne, The New Assembly, (Reverse Predictions, New York, 1969, p. 23.

[40] Blondel, op. cit., p. 109.

[41] Wallace, New York Times, April 28, 1969, p. 14.

CHAPTER III

VOLUME AND COMPREHENSIVENESS OF COVERAGE

The purpose of this study was to determine how the sample newspapers accepted the responsibility for reporting the 1969 French presidential campaign and election. The major area of investigation was whether or not the readers of each newspaper were provided with a continuing and adequate account of campaign and election issues and events. An analysis of the volume and comprehensiveness of the news coverage of the ten prestige newspapers revealed that coverage varied greatly from one paper to another. The first hypothesis, that "examination will show the sample of ten prestige newspapers furnish measurable differences among themselves in the length and number of items and degree of coverage of issues and developments," is discussed in this chapter.

Four methods of measuring volume and comprehensiveness were utilized in order to present a more balanced analysis than would have been possible with the use of just one of them.

The areas of measurement were: (a) number of column inches; (b) number of news items; (c) number of election issues; and (d) number of main developments

covered. It was necessary to examine and compare the results in each of these areas of analysis to ascertain whether or not each newspaper presented a comprehensive and continuing account of the election.

The examination of total volume of news coverage for each newspaper included measurement of the number of column inches and number of news items. Comprehensiveness was measured by recording the number of election issues and number of main developments that were covered by each newspaper.

Volume will be discussed first. A separate section of this chapter will be devoted to an examination of comprehensiveness by describing the coverage of key election issues and main developments. The chapter will conclude with a discussion of news agencies and correspondents.

Volume

A total of 557 news items were included in the ten U. S. prestige newspapers from April 28 to June 18, 1969. This total represented 8,603 inches of news coverage (Table I). A complete breakdown of news coverage, including editorials and editorial columns, is included in Table II.

The campaign and election were given continuous coverage by all of the sample papers. Analysis of coverage began on April 28, with General de Gaulle's defeat in the

TABLE I

NUMBER OF ITEMS AND TOTAL INCHES OF COVERAGE OF THE 1969 FRENCH PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN AND ELECTION

	Items	Inches
New York Times	115	1,873
St. Louis Post-Dispatch	46	522
Christian Science Monitor	38	623
Milwaukee Journal	49	545
Washington Post	90	1,593
Louisville Courier-Journal	49	772
Wall Street Journal	16	196
Atlanta Constitution	34	419
Chicago Tribune	48	670
Los Angeles Times	72	1,390
Totals	557	8,603

Note: The figures reflect total news coverage by the ten prestige newspapers from April 28 to June 18, 1969. Figures for editorials and editorial columns are included in Table II.

TABLE 2

NUMBER OF ITEMS AND TOTAL CIRCULATION OF CHILDREN'S BY TWO LIBRARY SYSTEMS PREVIOUS CIRCULATIONIST OVERNIGHT AND CIRCULATING

Items	Circulation
New York Times	1,672
St. Louis Post-Dispatch	823
Chemical Abstracts Service	541
Wilmington Journal	542
Philadelphia Zoo	1,249
Louisville Courier-Journal	772
Wall Street Journal	196
Atlanta Constitution	414
Chicago Tribune	670
Los Angeles Times	1,290
Totals	8,493

Note: The figures reflect total room occupancy in the two physical newspaper form April 30 to June 14, 1969. Figures for religious and editorial volumes are included in Table 22.

TABLE II

BREAKDOWN OF TOTAL ITEMS AND INCHES

	Total Inches	Total Items	Candidate Items	Issue Items	Background Items	Photographs	Editorials	Editorial Columns	Cartoons
New York Times	1,974	123	49	32	14	19	5	3	1
St. Louis Post-Dispatch	581	53	21	7	5	12	4	3	1
Christian Science Monitor	740	46	21	9	1	3	7	1	4
Milwaukee Journal	592	54	27	8	2	7	5	0	5
Washington Post	1,708	98	37	23	5	23	5	3	2
Louisville Courier-Journal	889	56	25	12	1	9	4	3	2
Wall Street Journal	212	17	14	2	0	0	1	0	0
Atlanta Constitution	499	42	18	8	0	6	6	2	2
Chicago Tribune	706	51	36	6	0	5	3	0	1
Los Angeles Times	1,442	75	34	22	5	8	3	0	3
Totals	9,343	615	280	131	33	92	43	15	21

government referendum and subsequent resignation as President, and concluded on June 18, 1969, three days following the election of Georges Pompidou as the second President of the Fifth French Republic. The average number of news items per paper was 55, while the average number of column inches per paper was approximately 860. However, these figures are somewhat misleading because of the significantly greater volume of coverage by the New York Times, Washington Post and Los Angeles Times.

When these three papers are excluded from the list the remaining seven papers, with the exception of the Wall Street Journal, included roughly the same number of news items and total column inches. The group of six papers which included--St. Louis Post-Dispatch, Christian Science Monitor, Milwaukee Journal, Louisville Courier-Journal, Chicago Tribune, and Atlanta Constitution--carried not less than 38 and not more than 49 news items. The average number of items for these papers was 44. The figures for number of column inches ranged from a low of 419 to a high of 772, with the average being approximately 585. It is not surprising that each of the leaders in total volume--the New York Times, Washington Post, and Los Angeles Times--included almost daily coverage by their own foreign correspondents. However, the Christian Science Monitor, Chicago Tribune, and Wall Street Journal also included occasional articles from their correspondents in France. An examination of the relationship between total coverage and the use

of correspondents will be included later.

The New York Times was the leader in number of news items with 115 and total inches of coverage with 1,873. These figures were more than double the volume totals for each of the papers except the Washington Post and Los Angeles Times. The average length of a New York Times article was over 16 inches. When the figures for the New York Times, Washington Post and Los Angeles Times were excluded the average length of an article from the remaining seven papers was a little over 11 inches. The New York Times printed 29 items on the 29th and 28th of April. In most cases this equaled the total number of news items printed by each paper for the months of May and April. The number of news items carried by the New York Times on April 28 was greater than the total number of items carried by the Wall Street Journal in eight weeks. There was at least one item printed in the New York Times in all but nine of the 53 issues.

In addition to extensive coverage of all of the key election issues and all but one of the main developments, the New York Times included relevant stories on international reaction to the election, background information on the principal candidates and the French election system, and several interpretative analyses of French public opinion and how it affected the outcome of the campaign and election.

of correspondents will be included later.

The New York Times was the leader in number of news items with 111 and total inches of coverage with 1,872. These figures were more than double the volume totals for each of the papers except the Washington Post and Los Angeles Times. The average length of a New York Times article was over 16 inches. When the figures for the New York Times, Washington Post and Los Angeles Times were excluded the average length of an article from the remaining seven papers was a little over 11 inches. The New York Times printed 38 items on the 29th and 30th of April. In most cases this equaled the total number of news items printed by each paper for the months of May and April. The number of news items carried by the New York Times on April 30 was greater than the total number of items carried by the Wall Street Journal in eight weeks. There was at least one item printed in the New York Times in all but nine of the 61 issues.

In addition to extensive coverage of all of the May election issues and all but one of the main correspondents, the New York Times included several articles on interpretational reactions to the election, background information on the principal candidates and the French election system, and several interpretative analyses of French public opinion and how it affected the outcome of the campaign and election.

Immediately following the resignation of de Gaulle, the New York Times included articles on the future of European unity and the expected international monetary maneuvering and resultant pressure on the franc. Also included were interpretative commentaries on the mood of the French people. The commentaries carried datelines in Colombey-les-Deux-Eglises, Bordeaux, Marseilles and Paris. Because the election of de Gaulle's successor would indicate the type of future French involvement with the Atlantic Community, the views of U. S. officials would also be important in understanding the significance of the election. These views were presented in several election analyses from Washington, D. C.

The name of French Interim President Alain Emile Louis Marie Poher was not exactly a "household word" in France, let alone in the United States. In the first few days after de Gaulle's resignation most of the prestige papers merely mentioned his name in passing. In some it was not clear what his functions were. However, the New York Times printed several articles which detailed the responsibilities and prerogatives of the interim president, and one lengthy article which described Poher's personal and political background. This particular article included a cogent description of the important role Alain Poher played in the defeat of the government referendum on April 28.

Even though the referendum was discussed and debated by Frenchmen for five weeks prior to the April 28 vote--and therefore not included in the list of key election issues and main developments--a description of the referendum was important in understanding the reasons for Poher's upsurge in popularity as the campaign progressed.

New York Times' French correspondent Henry Tanner explained that France not only had grown tired of the General's concept of "government by referendum" but they also rejected the main proposal of the referendum itself. This proposal included a change in the method of selecting the interim president. De Gaulle proposed that the Prime Minister and not the Senate President should become France's interim president. Poher publicly spoke out against this particular section of the referendum; and the referendum in general because President de Gaulle had typically announced it was an "all or nothing" package. Obviously many Frenchmen agreed with Poher and reasoned that such a succession could possibly be a step toward dictatorship.

In several articles immediately following the referendum defeat correspondent Tanner included a description of the French political scene and the likelihood of the candidacies of former premier Georges Pompidou and Alain Poher. By explaining the reasons for and the significance of the defeat of the referendum, the New York Times

had set the stage for the campaign and election to choose de Gaulle's successor.

The second position was occupied by the Washington Post. It printed 90 items with a total of 1,593 inches. The other leader among the top three was the third place Los Angeles Times. Its total volume of 72 news items and 1,390 inches was both significantly greater than the other seven papers and at the same time a weak third in comparison with the figures for the New York Times.

Both the Washington Post and the Los Angeles Times included extensive background and interpretative articles on the first few days after the referendum defeat.

The Washington Post presented detailed information on the role Alain Poher played in the referendum defeat. It also printed items on prevalent speculation about the stability of the franc. A story with a Washington dateline explained that U. S. officials, though vitally interested in the outcome of the forthcoming election, would adopt a wait-and-see policy.

Included in the Washington Post was the most comprehensive description of international reaction to the General's resignation in stories which were datelined Bonn, London, Moscow, Brussels, Beirut and Tel Aviv. A total of 28 articles were included on the 28th and 29th of April. As early as the 29th, Donald Louchein, the Washington Post's French correspondent, explained that Poher could count on

the support of the French centrist parties and had already been promised the endorsement of some leftist leaders. According to the Post, Poher seemed to convey a genial "bonhommie" attitude that might appeal to many Frenchmen after ten years of imposed Gaullist grandeur. As the campaign progressed this turned out to be an amazingly clear forecast of Pohar's personality and the mood of many French voters.

Several other Post articles speculated about possible campaign issues and the lineup of presidential candidates.

Initial election coverage in the third place Los Angeles Times was also extensive. The average item length of the Los Angeles Times' 72 items was 18 inches, two inches greater than the average length of a New York Times item. Included were articles which carried datelines of various European capitols as well as Washington, D. C. Correspondent Don Cook was the only French correspondent to predict a period of public calm instead of general chaos following de Gaulle's retirement.

Chapter II mentioned that several of the key election issues were taken from an article by Cook which appeared in the May 29 edition of the International Herald Tribune. This article also appeared in the Los Angeles Times on the 29th.

the support of the French socialist party and already
have received the endorsement of some rightist leaders.
According to the Star, Fabre hopes to convey a general
"hopelessness" article that might depress so many Frenchmen
after two years at imposed austerity measures. As the com-
bative personality of Fabre's personality and the need of ready funds
ecterie.

Several other Star articles speculated about
possible successors and the likely of presidential
candidates.

Initial election coverage in the third place Le
Quotidien Liege was also defensive. The evening Lion Insti-
of the Les Soirs Liege' 12 items was 12 issues, the
longest article than the preceded length of a Les Soirs items
item. Included were articles which covered decisions of
various European capitals as well as Washington, D. C.
Corresponding Lion Coeur was the only French correspondent to
produce a period of public role instead of general issue
following de Gaulle's retirement.

Chapter II mentioned that several of the big circu-
tion losers were those no article by Coeur which appeared
in the May 26 edition of the International Herald Tribune.
This article also appeared in the Les Soirs Liege on the
29th.

Correspondent Cook also explained the significance of the referendum defeat and listed several potential presidential candidates. The initial election coverage by the Los Angeles Times on April 28 and 29 was as comprehensive as that of the New York Times and the Washington Post.

Examination of Table I and the figures for the remaining seven papers show that more news items printed do not necessarily mean a corresponding bulk of total number of column inches. The Christian Science Monitor printed only 38 items yet its 623 total inches was greater than the St. Louis Post-Dispatch total of 522 inches with 44 items. It was also greater than the Milwaukee Journal's 545 inches with 49 items. The average length of an article in the Christian Science Monitor was almost 17 inches as compared to 12 inches in the Post-Dispatch and 11 inches in the Milwaukee Journal.

The Christian Science Monitor never went more than three days in a row without a story on the election. During the most important part of the campaign, the last three weeks in May, the Post-Dispatch printed only two articles. These were five and four inches long. A large gap in Post-Dispatch coverage also occurred in June. After commenting on the results of the June 1 vote, the paper ignored the election until June 15, the day of the runoff ballot. Readers were given no information on the election from

June 3 to June 15. The Post-Dispatch ranked seventh in number of items and eighth in total inches of coverage.

The Milwaukee Journal ranked fifth in number of items with 49, and seventh in total inches with 545. This imbalance existed because the Journal printed 16 articles that were under five inches in length. However, the longest single item during the eight-week period was found in the May 4 issue of the Journal. It was written as a news feature by John A. Armstrong, Professor of Political Science at the University of Wisconsin. The story amounted to a record 84 inches. Entitled "The Paradoxes of de Gaulle and The Problems of France," it was a survey of the de Gaulle presidency with specific emphasis on the various government referenda. It did not mention the candidates, issues, or the election itself. When this particular item was subtracted from the total number of column inches of all items from April 30 to May 30 the average item length was only seven inches.

The Louisville Courier-Journal tied with the Milwaukee Journal with 49 news items. It ranked fourth in number of column inches with 772. It must be remembered, however, that the Los Angeles Times, which placed third on the list, printed 23 more items and included almost 400 more column inches of news coverage than the fourth place Courier-Journal. Coverage by the Courier-Journal was particularly heavy on the first few days following

President de Gaulle's resignation. A total of 18 news items were printed between April 28 and May 2.

The Kentucky Derby occurred on May 3 and practically the entire paper was devoted to the Derby on the 3rd and 4th. Even after the Derby had ceased to consume virtually every inch of news space the election seemed to be forgotten. Only nine articles were printed during the entire month of May.

Coverage increased in June, however, with a total of 22 articles included during the period June 1 to June 18. The average length of a Courier-Journal article was approximately 16 inches. This figure was particularly high because the paper printed three very lengthy feature articles. Two of them, 65 and 43 inches in length, were from the New York Times News Service, and the third, 53 inches long, was from the Washington Post, Los Angeles Times News Service.

The Chicago Tribune placed sixth in total items with 48 and fifth in total inches with 670. The average length of a Tribune article was 15 inches. A story on the election was included at least every five days. The longest period of time without an item of any kind was seven days.

The Atlanta Constitution placed ninth on the list with 34 items and 419 inches. Only four articles were printed during the first three and one half weeks of May. The average length of these articles was about seven inches.

President de Gaulle's pronouncement. A total of 12 news items were printed between April 24 and May 2.

The Kentucky Derby occurred on May 3 and primarily the entire paper was devoted to the Derby or the Jockey Club. Even after the Derby had ceased to command attention every inch of news space the election seemed to be forgotten. Only nine articles were printed during the entire month of May.

Coverage increased in June. However, with a total of 22 articles published during the period June 1 to June 12. The average length of a Courier-Journal article was approximately 14 inches. This figure was particularly high because the paper printed three very lengthy features articles. Two of them, 63 and 43 inches in length, were from the New York Times Service, and the other, 51 inches long, was from the Washington Post. Los Angeles Times News Service.

The Louisville Times placed eight in total items with 49 and fifth in total inches with 570. The average length of a Times article was 12 inches. A story on the election was included at least every five days. The longest period of time without an item of any kind was seven days.

The Indiana Commonwealth placed ninth on the list with 34 items and 418 inches. Only four articles were printed during the first three and one half months of May. The average length of these articles was about seven inches.

The Wall Street Journal occupied the bottom position with 16 items totaling 196 inches. These totals were less than half the totals for the ninth place Atlanta Constitution. The New York Times carried six times as many news items and nine times as many column inches as the Wall Street Journal. Nine items were one paragraph stories included in the "What's News" section. The Wall Street Journal printed only seven articles during the entire month of May. Five of these articles were only one paragraph long.

With the exception of the top three papers and the bottom paper, the remaining papers seemed to over-concentrate on the resignation of de Gaulle and exclude information on the new election. In many cases information on possible candidates and election issues was virtually non-existent until several weeks into the campaign. The Wall Street Journal did not even mention the name of Interim President Alain Poher until he declared his candidacy on May 13. When information on the candidates was included it seemed to be a replay of the opinions, fears, and major developments of the 1965 election in which leftist candidate Francois Mitterand was defeated by de Gaulle in the runoff ballot.

Each paper carried almost a dozen stories during the first few weeks of the campaign on the General's resignation. Practically every story, with only slight

variations, was some type of historical or biographical sketch of de Gaulle and his relationship to the French people and the Fifth Republic.

The Milwaukee Journal and Chicago Tribune forecast a period of "chaos and turmoil" in French politics. The Christian Science Monitor mentioned the "distinct possibility of a long power struggle in France" and said the French had decided to "risk change." The Atlanta Constitution even speculated that de Gaulle was not really serious about the resignation and he might return at the call of the French voter, as he had done in the past.

The Washington Post, however, characterized de Gaulle's departure as a "quiet exit" and commented that "Frenchmen greeted the news soberly." The lead article in the April 29 issue of the Washington Post predicted that "unity and calm" would indeed prevail as Interim President Alain Poher had pledged.

In contrast, the St. Louis Post-Dispatch April 28 headline read, "De Gaulle's Resignation Expected To Result In Long Political Turmoil." The article stressed the fact that de Gaulle had warned France that "a period of trouble" would follow his defeat. The New York Times and Los Angeles Times mentioned the possible candidacy of Pompidou, and even Poher, and indicated it would be an "orderly election with no drastic changes seen in the interim period."

On April 29 Don Cook reported from Paris in the Los Angeles Times that "There may be a great deal more trouble behind the scenes, and it may indeed boil to the surface in the days ahead, but so far public calm and political order is being maintained."[1]

With the exception of the top three prestige papers, every paper speculated on the candidacy of Francois Mitterand. Apparently it was assumed he had run in the past, therefore he would run again. When other candidates were discussed Georges Pompidou was recognized as the titular head of the Gaullist Party, and the most likely candidate for the presidential race.

Key Election Issues

Comprehensiveness was examined to determine if the papers with the greater volume covered the key election issues. It was important to ascertain not only how many times each of these issues was mentioned but how well they were explained in the context of the entire election picture.

Several newspapers only listed the issues while others presented in depth coverage of the candidates' positions on them. Some papers merely explained how the issues affected France, others accurately described their international significance. News coverage in certain papers clearly revealed that they possessed no clear

understanding of the basic issues themselves. Occasionally a paper manufactured an issue that did not actually exist.

This aspect of the whole picture of comprehensiveness was examined by analyzing the reporting of a list of seven key issues.

1. British entry into the European Common Market and the future of "European solidarity."

2. The nuclear question. The Geneva Disarmament Negotiations and the future of the "force de frappe."

3. The Israeli arms embargo and the extension of "rapprochement" policies between France and the United Arab Republic.

4. The stability of the franc, and government spending.

5. The North Atlantic Treaty Organization--renewed cooperation or continued "de-integration"?

6. The dissolution of L'Assemblee Nationale and the role of the President.

7. Freedom of information on the state controlled television and radio network (ORTF).

Four of these issues were listed in a news analysis by Don Cook which appeared in the April 29 edition of the International Herald Tribune. The remaining three issues were selected after a complete examination of all issues of the International Herald Tribune and Le Monde.

Table III shows that, with the exception of the Louisville Courier-Journal, Chicago Tribune, Atlanta Constitution and Wall Street Journal, each of the papers "mentioned" all of the seven key election issues at least once. In many cases the issues were only mentioned and not

TABLE III

KEY ELECTION ISSUES

	New York Times	St. Louis Post-Dispatch	Christian Science Monitor	Milwaukee Journal	Washington Post	Louisville Courier-Journal	Wall Street Journal	Atlanta Constitution	Chicago Tribune	Los Angeles Times	Totals
1.	12	5	9	8	13	5	3	7	8	12	82
2.	4	3	4	4	8	1	0	1	1	7	33
3.	8	3	4	6	10	1	3	5	2	11	53
4.	5	1	4	5	9	3	3	1	1	5	37
5.	8	2	3	5	9	7	2	3	7	12	58
6.	9	4	3	3	6	0	2	0	0	4	30
7.	7	2	2	2	5	0	1	3	2	3	27
Total Issues Covered	7	7	7	7	7	5	6	6	6	7	
Per Cent	100	100	100	100	100	72	86	86	86	100	

Note: The seven key election issues are in the left hand column. The figures under each newspaper represent the total number of times each issue was mentioned.

TABLE III

NEW STRUCTURE IMAGES

Total	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
1.	12	8	7	4	8	13	3	9	13
2.	4	2	4	6	3	8	4	2	4
3.	8	3	4	4	7	10	6	1	12
4.	2	1	4	2	3	8	4	3	8
5.	8	2	1	3	4	7	3	1	12
6.	3	4	2	3	6	6	2	2	4
7.	7	2	3	3	4	6	1	3	8

Total Leaves Observed

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
100	100	100	100	100	71	86	86	86	100

Per Cent

Notes: The marks by electric leaves are in the last named column. The figures under each hundredth represent the total number of times each leaves was mentioned.

discussed. In addition, several papers presented erroneous information on the issues.

The New York Times, leader in total volume, covered all seven issues on the list, scoring 100 per cent. The question of British entry into the European Common Market was mentioned 12 times. Coverage of this issue began on April 28. In a London article, correspondent Anthony Lewis speculated that there was "at least a possibility of change in the frozen position on the issue of British entry into the Common Market."[2] Of course the views of the candidates themselves became known several weeks later. Yet, as early as April 29 several stories indicated that should Poher decide to run the question of European unity was certain to become an important election issue. A close look at Poher's political background, and his service in the European Parliament, indicated the importance of the issue.

A story by Andreas Freund in the April 29 edition explained Alain Poher's early apprenticeship to Robert Schuman and Jean Monnet. Freund explained that Poher shared the vision of these two French leaders that a united Europe would someday become a reality.

Several articles by Henry Tanner explained that the British issue placed Pompidou in an uncomfortable position. Tanner noted that Pompidou was instrumental in the initiation and supervision of virtually every basic Gaullist policy during his six years as the General's Prime Minister.

According to Tanner, Pompidou could not openly advocate British entry into the Common Market without compromising his past record and losing vital Gaullist support.

The New York Times included all of the major pronouncements by Pompidou and Poher on this issue. Henry Tanner pointed out the ambiguities in many of the statements by the Gaullist candidate.

"On May 15, Pompidou said, 'Britain must enter Europe,' and noted that, 'General de Gaulle well understood this.'"[3] Tanner explained that Pompidou "referred to Europe rather than specifically to the European Common Market from which Britain had been blocked by de Gaulle."[4]

Issue number two, the nuclear question, was mentioned four times. The New York Times accurately reported that Pompidou made no mention of his stand on French participation in the Geneva Disarmament Negotiations, nor of the future of the nuclear "force de Frappe" until Poher spoke out on these subjects. Several articles explained that the Centrist leader favored rejoining the talks at Geneva, and phasing out the "force de frappe" and integrating it with the British force in some kind of a European defense arrangement.

The New York Times pointed out that Pompidou never made his stand completely clear. Henry Tanner equated Pompidou's statements with past Gaullist rejoinders on the concept of "national nuclear independence."

Issue three, the Israeli arms embargo, also lay dormant until the Interim President began discussing it. It was mentioned on eight occasions by the New York Times. Several articles included detailed descriptions of Poher's opposition to a unilateral arms embargo in the Middle East. The arms embargo was mentioned in an interview with Alain Poher which appeared in Paris Match on June 21. The New York Times was the only paper to include excerpts from the article which touched on the Israeli issue.

The Times indicated that Pompidou's position on the arms embargo became much like Poher's as the campaign progressed. Correspondent Tanner explained that the Gaullist appeared to change his campaign strategy in the last weeks before the first ballot. With new emphasis on his past Gaullist record of achievement this issue was only briefly mentioned by the former Prime Minister. Tanner noted that Poher continued to concentrate on it until the eve of the first vote.

The stability of the franc, issue number four, had remained an issue for most Frenchmen since the May/June 1968 student-worker crisis. The New York Times mentioned this issue five times. Poher's early attacks against spending on "prestige projects" were included in several stories. These stories concluded that neither candidate proposed clear, workable solutions for France's monetary problems.

Poher preferred to concentrate on other issues, such as Britain and the Common Market, NATO, and the need for renewed freedom of information on the state controlled radio and T.V. network. Articles in the New York Times indicated that Pompidou, even though he often mentioned the issue, and spoke of the need for "more realistic government spending," seemed to withhold any cure-all solution to France's fiscal difficulties until it became clear how well the Communists would do in the voting. Communist-backed worker demands for pay increases the previous year were primarily responsible for the dwindling French gold reserves and the resultant loss in faith in the real value of the franc.

None of the papers devoted a great deal of coverage to the other five candidates because they had little to say on any of the seven issues--except this one.

As the New York Times pointed out, Gaston Defferre and Pierre Mendes-France waged a "ponderous campaign, concentrating mainly on hard to understand solutions to monetary problems."[5] Jacques Duclos was openly critical of practically all fiscal policies. Alain Krivine, the Trotskyite, called for a "socialist revolution, and an end to French capitalism." Michel Rocard espoused a milder set of socialist views. Louis Ducatel, who called himself the "only free candidate," promised to end all money problems by giving all workers "one-third of the profits of their

enterprize."[6] Of all the issues it seemed that the issue of the franc was the easiest for the "lesser" candidates to talk about.

The question of France's relationship with NATO was also an important issue because Poher concentrated on it. The New York Times mentioned the fifth issue eight times. Stories in the Times explained that renewed French cooperation with NATO was a part of Poher's plan for a united Europe. The NATO question was another touchy subject for Pompidou because he had agreed with de Gaulle on the French "de-integration" policy with the Alliance in 1966. Henry Tanner noted that Pompidou made few precise statements on the issue during the first three weeks of the campaign and that he preferred to restrict all comments on it as a part of his end-of-campaign change in strategy.

Issue number six, the role of the President and the dissolution of the National Assembly, was mentioned nine times. The New York Times explained that Georges Pompidou enjoyed an important advantage over all of the remaining candidates as far as this issue was concerned. The National Assembly was made up of a majority of Gaullist deputies. Pompidou's warnings against the acceptance of a "patch work government" were included in several articles. Correspondents Tanner and Giniger pointed out that this was a definite attempt by the Gaullists to invoke memories of

previous unstable Fourth Republic governments. The Times correspondents explained that Pompidou concentrated most heavily on this particular issue because he was convinced this was his most effective anti-Centrist argument.

The seventh issue, liberalization of government control of radio and television, was created by Poher on his third day in office. On April 30 Poher summoned Pierre de Leusse, the head of the commission that supervised the government controlled radio and T.V. network, and pressed sharply for greater political objectivity in news reporting. This issue was mentioned on seven occasions in the New York Times.

As described in Chapter II, unbiased French radio and television was something of a novelty in the 1969 election because Frenchmen had never before experienced it. A May 4 article in the New York Times which carried the headline, "French Radio and Television Turns Objective," said: "French radio and T.V. are free of government propaganda for the first time in history according to viewers and employees of the state network. The objectivity is the creation of Alain Poher, and it may not last beyond his tenure in the Elysee."[7]

The New York Times noted that Pompidou had no choice but to join the Poher bandwagon and declare he was "determined to assure freedom of information."[8]

Coverage by the Washington Post was equally

previous medium fought fugitive governments. The Times correspondents explained that Pangolin commercial went heavily on this particular issue because he was convinced this was his most effective counter-Gestalt argument.

The second issue, liberalization of government control of radio and television, was created by Pangolin on his third day in office. On April 30 Pedro announced Plaza de Cuevas, the head of the commission that supervised the government controlled radio and T.V. networks, and pressed energy for greater political objectivity in news reporting. This issue was mentioned on seven occasions in the New York Times.

As described in Chapter II, unbiased French radio and television was something of a novelty in the 1959 election because Pangolin had never experienced it. A key 4 article in the New York Times which covered the campaign, "French Radio and Television Turns Objective," said: "French radio and T.V. was free of government propaganda for the first time in history according to viewers and employees of the state network. The objectivity is the creation of Alain Pedro, and it may not last beyond his tenure in the Elysee."[7]

The New York Times noted that Pangolin had no choice but to join the Pedro bandwagon and declares he was "determined to restore freedom of information."[8]

Conveyed by the Washington Post was equally

extensive. The Post also mentioned all of the key election issues for a perfect score. The British issue was mentioned 13 times. Correspondent Donald Loucheim felt that Pompidou's pledges concerning British entry into the Common Market were hazy and ambiguous. Loucheim interpreted the Gaullist's assurances as being designed primarily to save face.

> In particular the former Finance Minister (Valerie Giscard d'Estaing) had wanted a pledge about enlarging the Common Market to include Britain. All he got was a vaguely worded statement that enlargement of "European construction is desirable."[9]

Loucheim explained that the reason for the Pompidou pronouncement was the increased support for Poher in recent public opinion polls.

The nuclear issue was mentioned eight times in the Washington Post. Donald Loucheim said that Georges Pompidou purposefully avoided any mention of this issue, while Alain Poher concentrated on it. Poher called the "force de frappe" a "costly failure producing nothing more than a panoply of prototypes, and saddling the country with a burden that it could never afford."[10] Poher's pledge to integrate France's nuclear deterrent with other European countries was included in several stories. The Washington Post was the only paper to carry Georges Pompidou's response to the Interim President's proposals. Loucheim described the Gaullist's position on the issue in this manner: "He said he would be in favor of an accord between France and Britain on a common European defense. But he said London,

extensive. The Court also sentenced all of the July abortion leaves for a perfect score. The British issue was mentioned 11 times. Corresponding Canada included Bill that Pamphlon's pledges concerning British water laws the Ottawa ranches were busy and employees. Lowphalis interpreted the committee's commitment as being readjusted primarily to save face.

In particular the former Prince Minister (Valorie Gibson d'Estaing) had wanted a pledge about satisfying the Common Market to include Britain. All he got was a vaguely worded statement that unionmembers of "European conversation is desirable."[9]

Lowphalis explained that the reason for the Pamphlon procommonwealth was the increased support for Ottawa in federal public opinion polls.

The revolver issue was mentioned eight times in the Washington Post. Donald Lowphalis said that sweeping Pamphlon particularly avoiding any mention of this issue, while Alain Poher concentrated on it. Poher called the "farce on trade" a "costly failure producing security more than a penalty of protection, and wrecking the country with a burden that it could never afford."[10] Poher's pledge to introduce Prince's postwar detectors with other European countries was included in several stories. The Washington Post was the only paper to carry Gaullon Pamphlon's response to the Informix President's proposals. Lowphalis described the candidate's position on the issue in this manner: "It said he would be in favor of an accord between France and Britain on a common European defense. But he still insists

not Paris, was responsible for lack of progress on the issue."[11]

The Washington Post mentioned the Israeli arms embargo issue ten times. Information on candidates' views was somewhat weak. The first mention of Poher's views was not included until May 23. Pompidou's views on this subject were never clearly spelled out in the Post. Only broad generalities were included on what a Pompidou victory would "likely mean for future Middle East policy." The issue of the stability of the franc was included in nine news items. The New York Times and the Los Angeles Times mentioned it in only five stories. The importance of the issue was comprehensively described in several articles which appeared immediately after the de Gaulle resignation. The candidates' positions were explained in numerous articles throughout the month of May.

The Washington Post mentioned the fifth issue, NATO, nine times. Loucheim noted that Poher criticized Pompidou for his ambiguous endorsement of NATO and captured every opportunity to ask the Gaullist why he had not carried out his newly endorsed actions when he was the Prime Minister. Pompidou usually replied that he was simply "carrying out orders." The Post reported that an article in La Monde "bluntly compared Pompidou's statements to Khrushchev's speeches about the Stalin era."[12]

The sixth issue, the role of the president and the

National Assembly, appeared in nine Washington Post articles. The Pompidou position was not mentioned until after Poher described the president as a "prime mover of the executive branch." Unlike the New York Times, the Washington Post did not include Pompidou's early statements on the need for new National Assembly elections should Poher be elected. Not until May 22 did the Post acknowledge the importance of this particular issue. A Post story, not from correspondent Loucheim--but news dispatches, said, "Pompidou has built his campaign around one fundamental theme. He has argued that of all the candidates he would make the strongest chief executive, best able to carry on the Gaullist tradition of a person who is the prime mover and shaper of public policy."[13]

The seventh issue, liberalization of government control of radio and T.V., was mentioned five times in the Washington Post. Loucheim presented an interesting anecdote on this issue. He said that Poher's first T.V. message as Interim President, in which he called for unity and order, was marred by "technical difficulties." This had often happened to non-Gaullist candidates in previous T.V. appearances.

The Washington Post presented the most informative single item on this particular issue. On May 19 Jonathan C. Randal wrote from Paris:

national assembly, appeared in nine Washington Post articles. The Reagan position was not mentioned until after Baker described the president as a "prime mover of the executive branch." Unlike the New York Times, the Washington Post did not include Reagan's early statements on the need for new national assembly elections should Ortega be elected, nor until May 31 did the Post acknowledge the importance of this particular issue. A Post story, not from correspondent Lewthwaite--but news dispatches, said, "Reagan has built his campaign around two fundamental themes. He has argued that efforts the candidates to remain the economic mixed economy. Bent aims to carry on the Sandinist tradition of a peasant who is the prime mover and shaper of public policy."13

The seventh issue, liberalization of government control of radio and T.V., was mentioned five times in the Washington Post. Inordinate preoccupied an inaccurately unanalyzed on this issue. He said that Baker's first T.V. message on Israeli troops, in which he called for unity and order, was marred by "technical difficulties." Quite and often Reagan to non-Sandinist candidates in previous T.V. appearances.

The Washington Post presented one poor interpretive single item on this particular issue. On May 19 Jonathan C. Randal wrote from Puerto:

> The French people have grown restive at watching ministers use the inaugurations of anything from a "pissotiere" on up as a pretext to praise the government.
>
> Because of the outrage caused by such "cranium cramming," as brainwashing is called in France, objectivity on the airwaves has become a major issue in the presidential campaign.
>
> Even Gaullist candidate Georges Pompidou turned into an ardent advocate of objectivity to the amusement of his adversaries, who recalled the network's tribulations during his six years as de Gaulle's Prime Minister. Under his tenure Alain Pierrefitte once justified government manipulation of radio and T.V. on the grounds the opposition controlled the newspapers and the magazines.[14]

Coverage of key issues by the third place Los Angeles Times was also accurate and comprehensive. The issue of Britain and the Common Market was mentioned 12 times. Several items were complete reprints of articles by Donald Loucheim which appeared in the Washington Post on the same day. Among them was Pompidou's most important speech on this issue which appeared in the Post on May 21. In this speech the former Prime Minister said he favored "reopening discussions with Britain, a country I cannot imagine eternally outside the Common Market."[15]

The future of the "force de frappe" and Geneva talks was mentioned seven times by the Los Angeles Times. The majority of the items which explained this issue were also correspondent Loucheim's articles from Paris which were supplied to the Los Angeles Times through the Washington Post, Los Angeles Times News Service.

The Israeli arms embargo, issue three, was

mentioned on 11 occasions, and the future of the franc was discussed in five editions. The bulk of coverage for these issues also included reprints of Loucheim articles, with additional stories by the Los Angeles Times' Paris correspondent, Don Cook.

The NATO question, issue five, was mentioned 12 times. Coverage was equally divided between articles by correspondents Loucheim and Cook.

Issue six, the role of the president and the dissolution of the National Assembly, received special emphasis from Don Cook. Cook's stories included two important quotes from Alain Poher which were not used by any other newspaper. Both of these quotations clearly expressed Poher's stand on this particular issue. When asked what kind of a president should succeed de Gaulle, Poher replied: "The President, whoever he is, has to be the animator of the executive. Note that I did not say the leader, for this word, translated into any language, conjures up sinister recollections."[16]

In discussing the possible dissolution of the National Assembly should he be elected, Poher said: "There is no need for a majority but only for an absence of opposition."[17]

Cook commented that "this type of banality may be all that Poher needs to push himself into the presidency."[18]

Issue seven, government radio and T.V., was

mentioned only three times. Two of these items were from the Post's Loucheim and the third from Cook. Again Cook presented information on Poher's position that did not appear in any of the other papers. On May 14 Cook included a statement that Poher had made in an interview for the French weekly L'Express. In response to a question on freedom of information Poher replied: "Believe me, I will not use tricolor posters or make my position an excuse to appear on T.V. outside the time officially allotted to each candidate."[19]

The Christian Science Monitor ranked eighth in total number of news items and sixth in total column inches. In several respects coverage of key election issues was superior to that found in the seven remaining newspapers.

The Christian Science Monitor offered excellent background material on most of the issues, yet, too often the positions of the candidates themselves were not clearly reported. On several occasions the views of Poher and Pompidou were excluded entirely. The paper seemed determined to report this election as if it was a replay of the one in 1965. Instead of explaining issues and candidates the paper concentrated on lengthy comparisons of the leftist coalition in 1965 and the lack of one in 1969.

The main socialist party and the other small parties had chosen their candidates by May 3, yet, the

"division on the left" was given priority coverage as late as May 16. When correspondent Carlyle Morgan finally acknowledged the Poher candidacy he quickly added that it came about "as a result of the failure of the French leftist parties to find unity around a single candidate of their own."[20]

The Monitor included several articles which were interesting but did not describe the issues or the candidates. It is important to note that these articles appeared in place of, not in addition to, articles which described the campaign and election. Stories entitled "Paris Shift May Inhibit Mid East Talks" (May 2), "French May Alter African Policy" (May 14), "Georges Pompidou and Hubert Humphrey" (May 21), and "Cuckoo and The Nest" (May 23) did not describe election events in any way.

Important information on the campaign and election was often relegated to one paragraph summaries in the world news summary called "The News-Briefly."

The first issue was mentioned nine times. The positions of both candidates were thoroughly explained. The second issue was mentioned four times. These articles failed to adequately explain the views of the candidates.

The Monitor was the only newspaper to include an article from an Israeli correspondent on the question of the arms embargo, issue three. Two of the four articles which discussed this issue were from correspondent Francis

Offner in Tel Aviv. Offner extracted numerous quotes from the Israeli newspaper Yediat Aharamat to describe the views of Israeli government officials.

The issue of the franc was also mentioned four times. Extensive background material on this question was presented in several stories in the first week in May. These stories stressed Pompidou's credentials as a former director of the Rothschild Bank. His stand on devaluation and other related monetary issues were never clearly stated. Poher's views were explained in an article which summarized his May 24 television speech.

Future relationships with NATO were covered in three issues. A story with a Moscow dateline inferred that Soviet leaders would prefer Pompidou as president because he would probably adhere to basic Gaullist policies concerning French involvement in NATO. Poher had stressed this issue since the day he announced his intention to run for president; however, his views were never mentioned in any article.

Coverage on the sixth issue was very thorough even though it was only discussed in three issues. Correspondent Morgan was the first reporter to recognize the importance of the issue of the dissolution of the National Assembly and the role of the president.

On May 3 he said:

> There is another concept emerging in the election campaign. It is that the president should be an

> arbiter remaining above politics but not in the powerful sense that General de Gaulle remained above politics. Acting President Alain Poher would seem to personalize this idea very well, if he should become the centrist candidate.[21]

This article was particularly noteworthy because it completely explained the issue, and correctly interpreted Poher's position before the issue itself, and Poher's stand became known.

On May 24 Morgan said, "One remarkable feature of Mr. Poher's campaign is his aim to make the French presidency a much weaker agency than General de Gaulle hoped it would be."[22]

In discussing the possible dissolution of Parliament Morgan reported that Poher "intended to let the majority stand so as to avoid chaos in Parliament which might result from elections returning many factions."[23]

The seventh issue was mentioned only twice and never adequately explained. The Interim President's position was presented in two lines in the May 24 summary. Pompidou was never mentioned when this issue was discussed.

The Milwaukee Journal placed fifth in number of items and seventh in total column inches. It mentioned each item at least once, and also scored 100 per cent. In many cases the issues were only mentioned and not discussed. Thirteen news items were included during the month of May; however, nine of them were one and two paragraph stories that appeared in a news roundup called "News In Brief."

> ...victor remaining above politics but not in the powerful sense that General de Gaulle remained above politics. Acting President Alain Poher would seem to personalize this idea very well. If he should become the eventual candidate."[1]

This article was particularly noteworthy because it completely explained the issue, and correctly interpreted Poher's position before the issue vitesse, and Poher's stand became known.

On May 24 Reyes said, "Don resentirla ...ecurse of Mr. Poher's resignation in his mix to make the French parliamentary a much weaker agency than General de Gaulle hoped it would be."[2]

In discussing the possible dissolution of Parliament Reyes reported that Poher "intended to let the majority attempt to do to avoid doing in Parliament which might result from elections resembling many factions."[3]

The avenues issue was mentioned only twice and never adequately explained. The French President's position was presented in two lines in the May 24 summary. Pompidou was never mentioned when this issue was discussed.

The Wilmington Journal placed first in number of items and awards in local column inches. It contained each item at least once, and also scored 10% per cent. In many cases the issues were only mentioned and not discussed. Thirteen news items were included during the month of May however, nine of them were one and two paragraph stories that appeared in a news roundup called "News In Brief."

No issue received more than one paragraph of coverage in any single item. A "News In Brief" story on May 21 described Alain Poher's position on all seven issues in only eight lines. In many cases this was the only mention of his stand on a particular issue.

While the candidates' positions were set forth, even though briefly, the importance of the issues themselves was not fully explained.

A typical example of a candidate's stand on one of the election questions was the short description of Poher's interpretation of the powers of the president. In a May 18 story the Journal reported that: "Poher, making his first campaign speech on national T.V., said he would be a president of all Frenchmen and would satisfy himself with guaranteeing, arbitrating and inspiring government action."[24] This was the only time Poher's name was linked with the issue.

Pompidou's stand on several of the issues was included in a brief story on May 21. After describing the Gaullist candidate's position, the story, which was compiled from news sources, indicated that "the election is shaping up increasingly as a duel between Interim President Alain Poher and former Premier Georges Pompidou."[25] This view had been accepted as fact by most of the other papers during the first week of May.

A one paragraph story on June 1 summarized the candidates' stands on several issues.

"The two front running candidates have proclaimed their desire for better relations with the United States, Britain's admission into the Common Market and an end to France's walkout from NATO."[26]

In addition to being brief, the story is shallow and misleading. Relations with the U. S. never became an important campaign issue. It was mentioned occasionally by both candidates only when discussing the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. The story gives the impression that Pompidou, should he become president, would immediately encourage Britain's admission into the European Common Market and rejoin NATO. On the contrary, Pompidou said that France would not become an active NATO member, but would "remain faithful to the Alliance." This was a promise that was frequently made by de Gaulle too. His pronouncements on Britain and Common Market membership differed from de Gaulle's because the General had flatly refused to even discuss the situation. The Journal was the only paper to conclude that Pompidou openly advocated immediate British Common Market entry.

The Journal's total number of news items and fifth place standing do not reflect the mediocre coverage given to the campaign and election issues.

The St. Louis Post-Dispatch, which placed seventh

in number of items and eighth in total column inches, also mentioned each issue at least once, and scored 100 per cent. Pompidou's stand on issues one, four, six, and seven was included in a May 10 article. Poher's position on all major issues was explained on May 18. Both articles contained direct quotes from the candidates. Included was the Gaullist's promise to "take a fresh look at the problem of European unification" and Poher's statement that he was "shocked by de Gaulle's arms embargo against Israel."[27]

This article explained that Poher's concept of an "arbitrating president" was designed to win votes of those favoring a president who does not make vital decisions without consultations with the Cabinet and Parliament.[28]

Though no issue was mentioned more than five times the Post-Dispatch presented satisfactory descriptions for all campaign issues except the franc and freedom of information on radio and T.V. Both of these issues were only briefly mentioned in a campaign summary on June 1. The radio and T.V. issue was mentioned again in a June 3 story which described Pompidou's changing campaign style. It said that Pompidou had "dropped his role as the General's dauphin and assumed a position on freedom of radio and T.V. purporting to suggest that he is as progressive as his anti-Gaullist opponent."[29] This inference of Poher's position is the only statement of his feeling on the issue.

The Louisville Courier-Journal mentioned only five

issues, scoring 72 per cent. The issues which were covered were done so in a rather limited and incomplete manner. There was only one mention of the nuclear issue and the Israeli arms embargo. One paragraph in an article on May 28 summarized Poher's views on Britain, NATO, the Geneva talks, the Middle East and the franc. Pompidou's position was never explained on the "force de frappe" and the arms embargo.

The issue of Britain and the Common Market was mentioned five times but the candidates' views were only given in one item.

The franc was mentioned on three occasions, without an explanation of any candidate's position. The only connection between Pompidou and this issue was included in a story on May 1, when Valerie Giscard d'Estaing said that Pompidou had assured him he "intended to insure the defense of the franc."[30] This was not the Gaullist candidate's last, nor his most important, statement on this issue. Poher's statement to halt spending on "prestige projects" represented total Courier-Journal reporting on the Centrist candidate's stand on the issue.

The NATO question was mentioned seven times and was the only one that was thoroughly explained. Several articles included information on the long-standing French policy of "de-integration." Pertinent statements by the candidates were included in other stories in May.

The Chicago Tribune, sixth in number of items and fifth in total inches, carried six issues with 86 per cent. Even though issue number one was mentioned eight times and number five, seven times, both were given superficial coverage. Issues two and four were mentioned only once, and three and seven on two occasions. Issue six was not covered. The majority of the Chicago Tribune stories were from French correspondent Edward Rorhbach.

The Gaullist candidate's views were explained in several stories. Poher's stand on each of the six issues which the Chicago Tribune covered was included in an article which appeared three days before the first ballot. This particular article included the only mention of the Centrist's position on each of these issues.

The Atlanta Constitution mentioned six of the issues with 86 per cent. Coverage in May was extremely light, with only six articles devoted to the election. The British issue was mentioned seven times, the Israeli issue five times and the NATO and radio and T.V. issues three times. The Geneva talks and the franc were mentioned once. The role of the president was not covered.

The British issue was briefly described in several stories, in the end of April and when Giscard d'Estaing endorsed the former Prime Minister. It was not included again until May 25. The Constitution reprinted the Washington Post's article which discussed Pompidou's

suspected final break with Gaullist policy on Britain and the Common Market.

The remaining five issues were not discussed until May 28 in a summary story by the New York Times' Henry Tanner. This particular article included only Poher's position on these issues. The Gaullist candidate's were never mentioned in any article.

The last place Wall Street Journal, though it mentioned six of the issues, adequately covered only the dissolution of the National Assembly and the role of the president. All but two of the stories printed in May were one paragraph long.

The two stories which were longer than a paragraph were devoted to a personal history of the two major candidates and an explanation of issue six. This was the extent of coverage in the Wall Street Journal, a "national newspaper, that serves a broad spectrum of national and international news users."[31]

Table III shows that all but four of the prestige papers mentioned each issue at least once, thus achieving a perfect score of 100 per cent. A comparison between Tables II and III shows the volume of coverage had little bearing on the percentage of key election issues mentioned.

The New York Times, Washington Post and Los Angeles Times placed one, two, three in total volume and covered

all of the key issues extensively.

The Louisville Courier-Journal, which placed fourth in total number of news items and number of column inches, was the only paper to mention five of the seven issues, with 72 per cent.

The Christian Science Monitor was eighth in total news items and sixth in column inches but mentioned all of the issues. The Milwaukee Journal, fifth in news items and seventh in inches, also mentioned each of the key issues.

The St. Louis Post-Dispatch ranked seventh in number of items and eighth in total inches. It too had 100 per cent mention of the issues.

The Atlanta Constitution was in ninth position in both volume categories and mentioned six issues with 86 per cent. The Chicago Tribune, sixth in items and fifth in inches, also mentioned six issues.

The Wall Street Journal occupied the bottom position, yet mentioned six of the seven issues.

The question of British entry into the Common Market (1) received the most citations. It was mentioned in 82 news items. All of the papers covered this issue. The Washington Post included the issue in 13 stories, and led all the others. The issue was mentioned more times than any other one in every paper but the Courier-Journal.

The NATO issue, number five, was mentioned in 58 news items for second place in the overall total. Each

paper included the issue, with the Los Angeles Times taking the top spot with 12 items. The Washington Post was second with nine items and the New York Times third with eight items.

The third biggest issue was the Israeli arms embargo (3). It was carried in 53 news items in all papers. The Los Angeles Times again led all papers with the inclusion of the issue in 11 items. The Washington Post and the New York Times were again second and third, respectively, with ten and eight news items.

The issue of the franc (4) was covered in 37 articles. The Washington Post included the issue in nine items and led all papers. The New York Times and the Los Angeles Times shared the second spot with five items. All of the papers mentioned it at least once.

The Geneva Disarmament Negotiations (2) were discussed 34 times to get fifth place among the issues. The Los Angeles Times was the leader again with seven items. The Washington Post took second, with eight stories, and the New York Times third, with four stories. The Courier-Journal, Atlanta Constitution, and Chicago Tribune mentioned the issue only once and the Wall Street Journal ignored it completely.

The sixth issue, role of the president and dissolution of the National Assembly, placed sixth in number of items with a total of 29. The New York Times was the

paper containing the issue. With the Los Angeles Times taking the top spot with 21 issues. The Washington Post was awarded with nine issues and the New York Times ended with eight issues.

The chart displayed issues was the Journal area accurate (3). It was created in 27 days issues in all papers. The Los Angeles Times papers had all papers with the location of the issues in it three. The Washington Post and the New York Times were equal and third, respectively, with ten and eight nine times.

The issue of the three (4) was compared in 37 articles. The Washington Post included the issue to nine times and led all others. The New York Times and Los Angeles Times covered the second spot with five times. All of the papers monitored it at least once.

The county's disagreements description (3) were discovered 36 times to get fifth place among the issues. The Los Angeles Times was the leader again with seven times. The Washington Post took second, with eight stories, and the New York Times third, with four stories. The Journal-Gazette, Bridge Connection, and Chicago Tribune mentioned the issue only once and the Wall Street Journal ignored it completely.

The sixth issue, role of the presidency and distribution of the national treasury, placed eighth in number of times with a total of 29. The New York Times was the

leader and included the issue in nine items. The Washington Post was second, with six, and the Los Angeles Times third, with four items. The Atlanta Constitution, Courier-Journal and Chicago Tribune did not cover the issue.

The issue of freedom of information on government controlled radio and television (7) placed last on the list with 26 items. The New York Times included the issue in seven stories. Only the Courier-Journal did not mention it.

Main Developments

Just as important as the mention of key election issues was the coverage of main campaign and election developments. This additional aspect of comprehensiveness was examined to ascertain whether those prestige papers that scored high on volume and coverage of key election issues also covered the main developments.

In order to test this aspect of comprehensiveness a list of 20 major news breaks was selected from the campaign and election articles included in the International Herald Tribune and Le Monde. The selection of main developments involved some degree of objectivity. It was necessary to rely on the news judgment of the editors of both newspapers. However, each of the main developments that were selected appeared in both of the papers. The list, with dates, of main campaign and election developments follows:

leader and included six items in nine issues. The Washington Post was second, with six, and the Los Angeles Times third, with four items. The Atlanta Constitution, Cincinnati Enquirer and Chicago Tribune did not cover the issue.

The issue of freedom of information or government controlled radio and television (7) placed last on the list with 10 items. The New York Times included the issue in seven stories. Only the Cincinnati Enquirer did not mention it.

Main Developments

Next in importance to the question of key elections issues was the coverage of main campaign and election developments. This editorial aspect of campaigning was expected to concentrate whether those presidential hopes were served high on voters and coverage of key election issues also covered the main developments.

In order to view this aspect of campaigning a list of 10 major news breaks was selected from the campaign and election activities included in the Democratic/Open Tribune and Ia Monde. The selection of main developments involved some degree of subjectivity. It was necessary to rely on the news judgment of the editors of both newspapers. However, each of the main developments that were selected appeared in both of the papers. The list, with dates, of main campaign and election developments follows:

1. April 28--General de Gaulle resigns after he fails to receive a majority vote of confidence on the referendum.

2. April 29--Former Prime Minister Georges Pompidou announces his candidacy and immediately receives the endorsement of the Gaullist Party.

3. May 1--Valerie Giscard d'Estaing, one of the most influential French political leaders and chairman of the Independent Republicans, supports Pompidou.

4. May 2 through May 7--Unsuccessful attempts to formulate a new "Third Force" in French politics of all leftists, centrists and right wing socialists. Attempts to unite the parties of Jean Lecanuet, Gaston Defferre, Michel Rocard and Alain Poher into a new Unified Socialist Party fail. Results: (a) Gaston Defferre becomes a candidate of the Socialist Party, (b) Michel Rocard becomes a candidate of the United Socialist Party, (c) Jacques Duclos will represent the Communist Party, and (d) Francois Mitterand, Socialist candidate in the 1965 election, withdraws his support of Defferre.

5. May 9--Results of first public opinion poll printed in La Figaro. Pompidou 50.5% and Poher 49.5%.

6. May 11--De Gaulle leaves Colombey-Les Duex-Eglises for an extended vacation in Ireland. Upon arrival he issues a statement saying he will not return for the election. Prior to his departure de Gaulle had not endorsed, nor indicated his support, for Pompidou.

7. May 12--Alain Poher announces his candidacy.

8. May 14--Second public opinion poll indicates Poher would defeat Pompidou in a runoff by a margin of 56% to 44%.

9. May 12 through May 14--First major pronouncements by both candidates on the subject of the role of the president, and the dissolution of the National Assembly.

10. May 16--Pierre Mendes-France, former Premier in the Fourth Republic, agrees to run as Gaston Defferre's Prime Minister-designate.

11. May 16 and 17--The candidacies of Alain Krivine, Trotskyite, and Louis Ducatel, Independent, are approved by the National Assembly.

12. May 17--Georges Pompidou replies to charges by the defense in the Delon-Markovic affair.

13. May 22--Le Monde indicates that 67% would prefer an "umpire" as president, and 23% prefer a president who decides the "broad lines" of policy. Latest SOFRES poll: Pompidou 41% and Poher 30%.

14. May 22--Alain Poher's seven-point speech.

15. May 30 and 31--Final radio and T.V. appeals by all candidates.

16. June 1--The first ballot. Results: Pompidou, 43.9%, Poher 23.4%, and Duclos 21.5%.

17. June 3--Spokesmen for the Communist Party call upon those who voted for Jacques Duclos in the first round to abstain in the runoff ballot.

18. June 8--Runoff campaign officially opens.

19. June 12--Former Premier Antoine Pinay endorses Pompidou.

20. June 15--Final ballot. Pompidou wins, 57.8%, and Poher 42.4% with 30.9% abstaining.

Table IV shows coverage of these main developments by the ten prestige papers. As in the case of coverage of key election issues, significant differences occurred both in number and amount of coverage given the selected developments. The Atlanta Constitution, Louisville Courier-Journal, Milwaukee Journal and the Wall Street Journal handled many of the developments in a few words. On the other hand, the New York Times, Washington Post, Los Angeles Times, and occasionally the Christian Science Monitor, often devoted entire articles to a description of a specific development.

11. May 17--George Hemplow replies to charges by the Orleans in the Baltic-Pacific attack.

12. May 17--Le Monde indicates that GTM would prefer an "engine" as president, and ITE prefer a president who decides the "broad lines" of policy. Latest Gallup polls: Republican 41% and Power 35%.

14. May 22--Atlas Power's seven-point speech.

15. May 30 and 31--Final radio and T.V. appeals by all candidates.

16. June 1--The first ballot. Results: Pamplebou, 46.3%, Power 19.4%, and Ducloz 11.3%.

17. June 3--Spokesman for the Communist Party call upon those who voted for Jacques Denios in the first round to abstain in the runoff ballot.

18. June 5--Record campaign attendance figures.

19. June 12--Record breaking turnout expected.

20. June 13--Final Ballot. Pamplebou wins, 57.0%, and Power 42.4% with 30.3% abstaining.

Table IV shows coverage of three main dependents by the two presidential papers. As in the case of coverage of key election issues, significant differences occurred both in number and amount of coverage given the selected developments. The Atlanta Constitution Journal, Chronicle-Herald, Minneapolis Tribune and the Wall Street Journal handled many of the developments in a few words. On the other hand, the New York Times, Washington Post, Los Angeles Times, and occasionally the Christian Science Monitor, often devoted entire articles to a description of a specific development.

TABLE IV

MAIN DEVELOPMENTS

	New York Times	St. Louis Post-Dispatch	Christian Science Monitor	Milwaukee Journal	Washington Post	Louisville Courier-Journal	Wall Street Journal	Atlanta Constitution	Chicago Tribune	Los Angeles Times
1.	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
2.	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
3.	x		x		x	x	x	x	x	x
4.	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x
5.	x			x	x				x	x
6.	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
7.	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x
8.	x			x	x	x			x	x
9.	x	x			x					
10.	x		x	x	x	x				x
11.	x	x	x	x	x					
12.	x					x				
13.	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
14.	x		x		x					x
15.	x	x		x	x	x		x	x	x
16.	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
17.	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
18.	x		x	x	x			x	x	x
19.			x	x	x				x	
20.	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Total	19	11	16	16	20	12	10	11	14	16
Per cent	95	55	80	80	100	60	50	55	70	80

Note: The 20 main developments are in the left hand column. Mention of each development is indicated under each newspaper.

TABLE 14

DATA SUMMARIZATION

	Has policy statement	Outside economic influences	Consideration of other factors	Economic multiplier	Cost-benefit analysis	Input-output analysis	Econometric techniques	Simulation	Linear programming	Has policy actions
1.	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
2.	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
3.	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
4.	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
5.	x	x				x				x
6.	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
7.	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x
8.	x	x				x	x	x	x	x
9.	x					x				
10.	x			x	x	x	x	x	x	x
11.	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x
12.	x					x				
13.	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
14.	x			x		x	x			x
15.	x	x		x		x		x	x	x
16.	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
17.	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
18.	x			x	x	x				x
19.				x	x	x				x
20.	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
TOTAL	19	11	12	16	12	20	13	10	11	19
PER CENT	95	55	60	80	60	100	65	50	55	95

NOTE: THE 20 AREA DEVELOPMENTS ARE IN THE IRON RANGE REGION. INSTEAD OF AREA DEVELOPMENT IN INDIVIDUAL UNDER-
AREA NAME@@@@.

De Gaulle's resignation was covered very extensively by all of the ten papers. It was an event with true international significance. Every paper included at least five articles in their April 28 issue. Each of the three previously mentioned leaders in total volume included almost 30 news items on the General's resignation. These totals of the New York Times, Washington Post and Los Angeles Times were significantly higher because they presented additional information on Interim President Alain Poher, the probability of Georges Pompidou's candidacy, possible campaign issues and general background information on the French electoral system. These items were carried in addition to full coverage of the referendum defeat and the general's resignation.

All of the papers also carried the announcement of Georges Pompidou's candidacy. Even those papers which gave incomplete coverage to the key election issues recognized the importance of this main development. The New York Times and Washington Post took the opportunity to describe probable support from leading French politicians. The New York Times included lengthy comments by seven important public figures. Among those surveyed were: Valerie Giscard d'Estaing, Jean Jacques Servain-Schreiber, writer and influential centrist, Jacques Cheban-Delmas, important Gaullist and presently Pompidou's Prime Minister, and Hubert Beuve-Mery, publisher of Le Monde.

De Gaulle's resignation was covered very extensively by all of the news papers. It was in every case true information signalizing. Every paper included an informative article in their April 29 issue. Each of the three previously mentioned leaders in total volume included almost 30 more items on the General's resignation. Those totals of the New York Times, Washington Post and Los Angeles Times were significantly higher because they presented additional information on Lyndon President Nixon Rober, the possibility of George Reighton's candidacy, possible campaign issues and general background information on the French electoral system. These items were carried in addition to full coverage of the referendum defeat and the General's resignation.

All of the papers also carried the announcement of George Pompidou's candidacy. Even these papers which gave incomplete coverage to the May election issues recognized the importance of this main development. The New York Times and Washington Post took the opportunity to describe possible outcomes from leading French politicians. The New York Times featured lengthy comments by seven important public figures. Among those surveyed were Valerie Giscard d'Estaing, Jean Jacques Servin-Schreiber, writer and influential centrist, Jacques Chaban-Delmas, Independent Republican and premier Pompidou's Prime Minister, and Robert Lecourt-Grandmaison, publisher of La Nation.

Several of the papers included Giscard d'Estaing's statement that he would prefer a candidate who had not previously been engaged in partisan party politics. Those papers which included this statement agreed he was definitely not speaking about Pompidou. Several speculated that he had in mind Interim President Alain Poher; others thought he would support former Premier Antoine Pinay.

Valerie Giscard d'Estaing's political about face and announcement that he would support Pompidou was mentioned in all of the papers except the St. Louis Post-Dispatch and Milwaukee Journal. In describing the endorsement the New York Times went so far as to say:

"For Pompidou d'Estaing's endorsement opened the way for support from other centrist leaders and thus, only two days after de Gaulle's departure the former Prime Minister appeared to have the succession battle all but won."[32]

The Chicago Tribune, Courier-Journal and Wall Street Journal apparently failed to recognize the importance of the d'Estaing endorsement. Only a few sentences were devoted to this development in these papers. They merely mentioned d'Estaing's "backing Pompidou" and the fact that the Independent Republicans represented the Gaullist "right wing"--a fact that was insignificant and confusing without a general explanation of the French political spectrum.

It should be noted that Giscard d'Estaing campaigned

for Pompidou throughout the entire country for the full eight weeks. His speeches were given front page coverage in the International Herald Tribune and Le Monde.

With the exception of the Chicago Tribune, Courier-Journal and Wall Street Journal, all of the papers explained that d'Estaing had decided to support the Gaullist candidate only after receiving "assurances" that Pompidou would not blindly follow Gaullist doctrine on foreign and domestic issues.

An Associated Press article carried in the Atlanta Constitution accurately presented the importance of the endorsement:

"The support of the Independent Republicans, which has a wide middle-class backing, was a sizable boost for the Pompidou candidacy. Widespread middle-class defection was held largely responsible for the defeat of last Sunday's referendum."[33]

The unsuccessful leftist "Third Force" and the subsequent candidacies of Gaston Defferre, Michel Rocard and Jacques Duclos occurred over a five-day period. This was covered by all of the papers except the Louisville Courier-Journal. The Wall Street Journal devoted one short article to it while the Christian Science Monitor covered it and re-covered it until the third week in May. As the development unfolded all but the Christian Science Monitor realized that the 1965 leftist candidate, Francois

the Republican Convention the media country for the full eight weeks. Six speeches were given front page coverage in the Intercontinental Courier Tribune and La Monde.

With the exception of the Chicago Tribune, Courier-Journal and Wall Street Journal, all of the papers explained that d'Estaing had decided to support the Gaullist candidate only after receiving "assurances" that Poujadon would not blindly follow Gaullist doctrine on foreign and domestic issues.

An Associated Press article carried in the Atlanta Constitution accurately presented the importance of the endorsement:

"The support of the Independent Republicans, which has a wide middle-class backing, was a significant boost for the Poujadon candidacy. Widespread middle-class defection was held largely responsible for the defeat of last Sunday's referendum."[33]

The conservative latins "Wind Rocks" and the subsequent candidacies of Gaston Defferre, Michel Rocard and Jacques Duclos occurred over a five-day period. This was covered by all of the papers except the Louisville Courier-Journal. The Wall Street Journal devoted one short article to it while the Christian Science Monitor covered it and re-covered it until the third week in May. As the development unfolded all but the Christian Science Monitor retained that the 1965 latins candidacy. Presents

Mitterand, would not be a powerful uniting force. In fact, he withdrew his support from the Socialist Party candidate, Gaston Defferre, on May 6.

All of the papers explained the reasons for the Communist decision not to back the Socialist candidate, as they had done in 1965, and to run a candidate of their own.

Chapter II described the accuracy and importance of the public opinion polls in forecasting the referendum defeat. The polls taken during the election were conducted by independent organizations, and accurately described the changing voter strength of the major candidates.

The first poll was published in the weekly La Figaro on May 9. Results were carried in the New York Times, Milwaukee Journal, Washington Post, Chicago Tribune and Los Angeles Times. The poll indicated that in a runoff election Pompidou would receive 50.5 per cent of the vote and Poher 49.5 per cent. This was an amazing show of voter strength for the Interim President who had not announced his decision to run, or made any speeches. The Washington Post story was typical of the information presented in the New York Times, Chicago Tribune and Los Angeles Times.

"If Poher becomes a candidate the poll indicates that Pompidou would be forced into a runoff and that it could be a close contest. With no leftist candidate in the second round leftist voters are considered more likely to switch their support to Poher than Pompidou."[34]

difference, would not be a powerful motivating force. So there, by watching him suppress from the Socialist Party candidate, Benton Deliverer, so may e.

All of the papers supported the coverage for the Communist decision not to back the Socialist candidate, as they had done in 1968, and to run a candidate of their own. Chapter II described the accuracy and importance of the public opinion polls in forecasting the Democratic defeat. The polls taken during the election were conducted by independent organizations, and accurately documented the changing voter attitude of the major candidates.

The first poll was published in the weekly Le Figaro on May 8. Results were similar to the New York Times, Minneapolis Tribune, Washington Post, Chicago Tribune and Los Angeles Times. The poll indicated that in a runoff election Pompidou would receive 59.5 per cent of the vote and Poher 40.5 per cent. This was an amazing show of voter strength for the French President who had been announced his decision to run or made any speeches. The Washington Post story was typical of the information presented in the New York Times, Chicago Tribune and Los Angeles Times.

"If Poher chooses a campaign the poll indicates that Pompidou would be elected into a runoff and that it could be a close contest. Both no Parties candidates in the second round initial voters are considered more likely to switch their support to Poher than Pompidou."[31]

The Milwaukee Journal did not directly mention the survey but commented in a short one paragraph item that "the former premier is now given only an even chance in public opinion polls."[35]

On May 11 General de Gaulle left unexpectedly on an extended vacation in Ireland. Upon arrival he issued a statement which said he would not return for the election. Prior to his departure the General had not endorsed nor indicated his support for Pompidou in any way. A biographical sketch of the General printed in the New York Times on April 28 said that even the slightest utterance or movement by the General was a national news maker. Apparently this was so--even in retirement--for all of the papers carried de Gaulle's unexpected absence from France.

The Atlanta Constitution was the only paper which did not cover Alain Poher's announcement that he would run for the presidency. All of the papers explained, some with more detail than others, that Poher's candidacy would pose a serious threat to Pompidou.

Minimum coverage was presented in an eight-line story in the "News In Brief" section in the Milwaukee Journal.

Coverage in the Courier-Journal and Wall Street Journal exceeded that of the Milwaukee Journal by one line. In the "News Roundup" the Courier-Journal said only that "Poher is regarded as a formidable threat to Pompidou."[36]

More complete coverage was presented in the New York Times, Washington Post and Los Angeles Times.

Results of the second major public opinion poll were released on May 14. According to the poll by IFOP (French Public Opinion Institute), Poher would defeat Pompidou by a margin of 56 to 44 per cent in a runoff ballot. The results were particularly important for two reasons. One, the poll was commissioned by France-Soir, a strongly Gaullist mass circulated daily; and, two, it was actually conducted prior to Poher's announcement that he was a presidential candidate. Results of the survey were covered in all papers except the Post-Dispatch, Christian Science Monitor, Atlanta Constitution and Wall Street Journal.

The New York Times, Los Angeles Times and Washington Post explained the significance of the results instead of merely listing the percentages.

The item printed in the Courier-Journal typified coverage of the remaining papers which covered the development:

"This confirms the findings of earlier surveys which had shown Pompidou leading in the first round but falling short of a majority and thus making a runoff necessary. There will be seven candidates in the first round and two in the runoff."[37]

end-two in the events."[37]

Details of his second major public operation [illegible] were contained on May 14. According to the poll by Time (French Public Opinion Experience), Ponar would defeat Pompidou by a margin of 54 to 46 per cent in a runoff ballot. The experts were particularly impressed by the two reasons: One, the poll was commissioned by Europe-Poll a recently founded private enterprise, and, two, it was apparently conducted prior to Ponar's announcement that he was a presidential candidate. Results of the survey were covered in all papers except the Lyon-Dispatch. Containing Business Monitor, Atlanta Constitution and Wall Street Journal.

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"This confirms the findings of regular private voter pol whose pol whose Pompidou leading in the first round but failing short of a majority and thus making a runoff necessary. There will be seven candidates in the first round and two in the runoff."[37]

The reason for Poher's percentage was not explained.

An example of more complete coverage was found in the New York Times:

"Alain Poher, the Interim President, became the odds-on favorite today in the race for the succession to General de Gaulle in the election to be held June 1. Today's poll shows that Poher would inherit most of the leftist votes apparently because leftists consider him the lesser evil."[38]

The issue of the role of the president and the dissolution of the National Assembly should Poher win became an important area of debate only after the Centrist declared his candidacy. By emphasizing that Poher would be faced with a Gaullist majority in the National Assembly, Pompidou sought to rekindle old fears of weak Fourth Republican governments in which the premiers could not control the Assembly deputies.

The papers that did not mention this development were the Milwaukee Journal, Atlanta Constitution, Wall Street Journal and the Los Angeles Times.

On May 16 Socialist candidate Gaston Defferre announced that former premier Pierre Mendes-France would become his Prime Minister should he be elected. This was an unprecedented move in French presidential elections. It was the first time a presidential candidate had named his

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"Alain Peyrefitte, the Interior Minister, brought the odds-on favorite today in the race for the succession to General de Gaulle in the election to be held June 1. Today's poll shows that Gaullist would inherit most of the leftist votes theoretically because leftists consider him the lesser evil."[39]

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On May 19 Socialist candidate Gaston Defferre announced that former premier Pierre Mendes-France would become his Prime Minister should he be elected. This was an unprecedented move in French presidential elections. It was the first time a presidential candidate had named his

Prime Minister before being elected. Defferre's announcement that Mendes-France would take an active role during the campaign signaled the initiation of an American style two-candidate party ticket.

Even though he had not held an important government position since the days of the Fourth Republic, Mendes-France remained the spiritual leader of many French intellectuals and liberals. By naming Mendes-France as his Premier-designate Defferre was attempting to add a bit of luster to his candidacy and mobilize undecided leftist voters.

Only the New York Times explained the importance of the Mendes-France re-emergence.

A one paragraph item in the Christian Science Monitor was typical of coverage of this main development by most papers. An article which appeared in the "News Briefly" section said: "Socialist presidential candidate Gaston Defferre said Thursday he would appoint Pierre Mendes-France as his Premier if elected."[39]

On May 16 and May 17 Alain Krivine, Trotskyite, and Louis Ducatel, "candidate for everyone who is unhappy," were certified as legal presidential candidates by the National Assembly. This certification was included in all papers except the Atlanta Constitution, Chicago Tribune, Wall Street Journal and Los Angeles Times. Their candidacies were eventually mentioned in all papers except the

Wall Street Journal.

Both candidates, especially Louis Ducatel, were examples of typical "folklorique" candidates described in the previous chapter. They did not pose a serious threat to Pompidou or Poher. It seemed as if the prospect of free radio and T.V. time greatly influenced their decisions to seek the presidency. Only the Washington Post saw the humor in their candidacies. An article by the Post's Donald Loucheim said:

> As a bonus to the 2,000 employees of his largest company Ducatel distributes 50 of his paintings in an annual lottery. As he told a recent interviewer, "those unlucky workers who are unable to receive one of my paintings have to content themselves with a mere cash bonus." . . . Ducatel modestly described his ability as a T.V. campaigner, "I'm terrific," he said.[40]

Even campaigns in France include a bit of the sensational. On May 17 the defense lawyer for a former gangster, who was accused of murdering movie star Alain Delon's bodyguard, demanded that Mr. and Mrs. Pompidou be called as witnesses at his trial.

It was widely publicized in France that the Pompidous had been charter members of the French jet set when he worked for the Rothschild Bank. Mrs. Pompidou patronized the leading fashion designers in Paris and both she and her husband were admirers of "haute culture." They spent their holidays in St. Tropez and St. Moritz and were seen publicly with Alain Delon on several occasions. It would seem that American papers, even these prestige papers,

Mail Patent Monster.

Both editions, especially Paris Present, were examples of typical "solidarity" exhibitions described in the previous chapter. They did not pose a serious threat to Pompidou or Pouic. It seemed as if the prospect of Iron Fists and U.V. Rise greatly influenced their decisions to back the presidency. Only the Bandinsion Post saw the Union in their endorsements. As worlds by the Post's Ronald Lovemeis said:

> As a bonus to the 2,000 employees of his largest company Dorvel Advertising SO of his politique is an annual interest. As he told a recent interviewer, "Every publicity workers who are ready to receive one of my paintings free to consents themselves with a suit each bonus." . . . Dorvel modestly describes his ability as a s.o. campaigner, "I'm versatile." He said.[6]

Even conservative in France inclede a bit of the reasonsional. On May 17 the Gaiman lawyer for a Dorper magazine, who was accused of seducing movie star Alain Delon's bodyguard, conceded that he, and Mrs. Pompidon is called as witnesses at his trial.

It was widely published in France that the Pompidons had been shorter members of the French jet set who be wanted for the nationalist bank. mrs. Pompidon patronized the leading fashion designers in Paris and both she and her husband were admirers of "Pierre Cardens." They share their hobbies in Ex. Europe and Ex. Berlin and were seen publicly with Alain Delon on several occasions. It would seem that Parisian papers, even those friendly

would eagerly include this bit of foreign sensationalism. This was not the case. Except for the New York Times and Washington Post the item went completely unnoticed.

The results of two public opinion polls were released on May 22. The first poll, published in Le Monde, indicated that 67 per cent of the French voters preferred an "umpire" as president, the type Alain Poher said he would be if elected, while only 23 per cent indicated their preference for a president who decides the "broad lines of policy" as Pompidou said he would do if elected.

The second survey was the latest SOFRES poll. Results revealed that Pompidou's first round popularity had remained stable with 41 per cent, while Alain Poher's had dropped from 37 to 30 per cent. Pompidou's followers emphasized the importance of this poll and Poher's backers naturally publicized the results of the Le Monde survey. The results of both polls were included in all of the papers.

On May 22 Alain Poher discarded his heretofore mild mannered campaign approach and strongly attacked the Gaullist candidate in his seven-point speech. In his second televised speech, Poher set forth his position on each of the seven key issues.

He charged that the "force de frappe" was a costly failure and not truly effective. He advocated incorporating France's nuclear force in an Allied organization. The

Centrist nominee indicated he did not agree with the Israeli arms embargo, and he said if elected he intended to eliminate the Information Ministry as one step in ensuring impartial radio and T.V. coverage. Many of these positions had been stated before but not in such a forceful manner and not on national television.

The New York Times, Los Angeles Times and Washington Post were the only papers to cover the speech. Each of them included several quotes from the Interim President as he detailed his position on the various issues.

Final radio and T.V. appeals by the candidates between May 28 and 31 made all of the papers except the Wall Street Journal. The New York Times and Washington Post, which had given detailed coverage to the previous developments, devoted several stories to the candidates' final speeches. Stories by the Milwaukee Journal, Courier-Journal, and Atlanta Constitution were typically brief.

The Wall Street Journal did not mention the final speeches, while the Atlanta Constitution, instead of describing the presidential hopefuls' last T.V. appearances, repeated previous poll results.

The May 31 Atlanta Constitution story said, "The polls predicted that in Sunday's first round vote Pompidou will poll 40 per cent of the vote; Poher 30 per cent and the remaining five candidates the remaining 30 per cent."[41]

This information was misleading and incomplete. It was correct to say that the poll results indicated that the "remaining" five candidates would receive the "remaining" 30 per cent of the vote.

Actually the survey said that Jacques Duclos would receive about 18 per cent of the vote, with the rest being divided among the other candidates. Defferre's percentage varied from four to eight per cent. The Constitution article gives the impression that 30 per cent of the votes would be equally divided among all of the five lesser candidates.

The next main development was the first ballot on June 1. All of the papers covered the vote and emphasized the strong showing by Duclos. Pompidou received 43.9 per cent, Poher 23.4 per cent and Duclos 21.5 per cent. Several papers, among them the Washington Post, New York Times and Christian Science Monitor, mentioned the possibility that Communist voters might abstain on the runoff.

This was the next main development and was carried by all papers but the Post-Dispatch. On June 3 spokesmen for the Communist Party called upon those who had voted for Jacques Duclos in the first round to abstain in the runoff ballot. They argued that Poher and Pompidou represented a choice between "cholera" and the "plague." The Communist decision to abstain virtually eliminated Poher as a serious contender. Because the Centrist needed practically all of

the Communist votes to defeat the former Prime Minister, Pompidou suggested that Poher withdraw. Poher declined and promised a more vigorous campaign in the weeks to follow. Each of the papers covered this development.

The Christian Science Monitor presented several interesting theories as to why the Communists ordered the abstention:

> The call for abstention said that both presidential candidates stood for "reactionary" groups in French society. It did not say that the Soviet Union prefers the Gaullist Mr. Pompidou to the middle-road Mr. Poher. It did not say that the Gaullist foreign policy has always suited Moscow better than the pro-American, pro-Atlantic policy that Mr. Poher has been promising to follow . . . If all the persons who usually vote Communist withhold their support for Poher he has no chance of election.[42]

The runoff campaign officially opened on June 8 with both candidates trying to capture some of the Communist votes without alienating their own party members. Opening day pronouncements by Pompidou and Poher made the New York Times, Milwaukee Journal, Washington Post, Atlanta Constitution and the Los Angeles Times. For all practical purposes the campaign was over, thus all of the articles, including the ones in the New York Times and Washington Post, were unusually brief.

On June 12 former Premier Antoine Pinay endorsed the Gaullist candidate. Pinay was an extremely popular Premier in the Fourth Republic and was de Gaulle's Finance Minister in 1958 when he successfully carried out the devaluation of the franc. Pinay still enjoyed extensive

> The only [illegible] said that both presidential candidates stood for "respectability" unlike in Federal society. It did not say that Jarvis Dalton praised the Gazillac Mr. Pedrigue to the middle-road Mr. Pober. It did not say that the Gazillac Foreign Policy has always called Moscow better than the pro-Western pro-Atlantic policy that Mr. Pober has been preaching to follow . . . If all the persons who usually vote Conservative withheld their support for Pober he has no chance of election.[1]

The result compiled officially cleared on Thur 9 with both candidates having to capture more of the Communist votes without alienating their own party members. Opening day proceedings by Pedrigue and Pober made the New York Times. Reiterating document. Tabulation took. Ballots Construction and the Los Angeles Times. For all practical purposes the campaign was over, thus all of the artificial. Declaring the down to the Real York Times and Magdalena Clark, were necessarily held.

On June 12 Lester Prentice Hotaling Riley endorsed the Gazlier candidacy. Riley was an extremely popular Premier in the Peace Republic and was de Gazlier's Finance Minister to [illegible] he accidentally carried out the devaluation of the Lemo. Riley still enjoyed enormous

popularity among the provincial middle class voters, the main source of Poher's support. Thus his move to back Pompidou put the final nail in Poher's coffin.

The endorsement was covered only in the Milwaukee Journal, Washington Post and Chicago Tribune. This was the only main development not covered by the New York Times.

On June 15 Georges Pompidou was elected President with 57.8 per cent of the vote. Poher received 42.4 per cent and 30.9 per cent abstained. All of the papers covered the Pompidou victory. In the end it seemed as if a majority of Frenchmen had more confidence in Pompidou as a political leader. They felt he was a man with a policy and the ability to apply it. The "Poher phenomenon" came to an end just as abruptly as it had begun eight weeks previously. Jonathan C. Randal observed in a Washington Post story that:

> Poher, steeped in the polite ways of the Senate for 23 years, that most conservative institution in this most conservative country, failed in his advisers' eyes because he never really tried until it was too late.
>
> "The pity is he learned to campaign in the last days of the campaign," an admirer lamented, "and by then the voters were fed up with communiques and speeches."[43]

Henry Giniger, reporting in Paris for the New York Times, arrived at a similar conclusion:

"Mr. Poher really began to fight the battle of the final balloting only in the last week, and as one woman supporter remarked regretfully, 'It's too bad, he has

started too late.'"[44]

The Washington Post and the New York Times were the only papers to observe one of the most striking features of the election. Pompidou had achieved his victory without the support of a single leading Gaullist, in or out of the Cabinet, and without General de Gaulle's endorsement and encouragement.

The Washington Post was the only paper to score 100 per cent and cover all 20 main developments. The New York Times was second with coverage of 19 developments and 95 per cent. Three papers, the Milwaukee Journal, Christian Science Monitor and Los Angeles Times, covered all but four developments for 80 per cent. The Chicago Tribune covered 14, for 70 per cent, and the Courier-Journal covered 12, with 60 per cent. The Post-Dispatch and Atlanta Constitution tied for ninth place with coverage of 11 main developments and 55 per cent. The Wall Street Journal was last, covering only 10 developments.

Every main development was covered by at least five papers. One quarter of the developments were mentioned by all of the papers. The largest gap in coverage was by the Atlanta Constitution which covered no developments from May 11 through May 22.

A comparison of Tables I, II, III and IV shows that those papers that led in volume also scored high in coverage of key election issues and number of main developments.

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Correspondents and News Agencies

Table V lists a complete source breakdown. There were almost four times as many foreign as domestic stories. A total of 206 stories carried foreign datelines compared to 87 domestic stories. The majority of news items from the New York Times, Washington Post, Christian Science Monitor, Chicago Tribune and Los Angeles Times were from foreign correspondents in Paris. The other papers carried stories by the Associated Press, United Press International, as well as the New York Times News Service and Washington Post, Los Angeles Times News Service.

The campaign was not really a nationwide effort, thus all but a few of the articles carried a Paris dateline.

The AP and UPI each accounted for 39 foreign news stories. The Courier-Journal, New York Times and Washington Post did not include any UPI foreign stories. The rest of the papers carried about the same number from each wire service. The Christian Science Monitor and Wall Street Journal were the only papers that did not carry any AP and UPI foreign stories. The British news agency, Reuters, accounted for nine news items. There were no stories attributed to the Agence France Presse, the French news agency.

There were seven AP domestic news items and no UPI domestic news items.

The AP, with 55 wirephotos, outnumbered the UPI,

Table V lists a complete source breakdown. There were eleven item sources on newly foreign or domestic stories. A total of 356 stories carried foreign identities compared to 67 domestic stories. The majority of news items from the New York Times, Washington Post, Christian Science Monitor, Baltimore Sunday and Los Angeles Times were from foreign correspondents in Paris. The other papers carried stories by the Associated Press, United Press International as well as the New York Times News Service and Washington Post, Los Angeles Times News Service.

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TABLE V

SOURCE BREAKDOWN

	New York Times	St. Louis Post-Dispatch	Christian Science Monitor	Milwaukee Journal	Washington Post	Louisville Courier-Jrnl.	Wall Street Journal	Atlanta Constitution	Chicago Tribune	Los Angeles Times	Totals
Staff Story, Domestic	11	12	8	5	9	4	12	3	4	19	87
Staff Story, Foreign	79	0	25	0	44	0	4	0	24	30	206
AP Story, Domestic	2	1	0	3	1	0	0	0	0	0	7
AP Story, Foreign	3	3	0	9	2	6	0	9	5	2	39
UPI Story, Domestic	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
UPI Story, Foreign	0	8	0	16	0	0	0	9	4	2	39
Other Story, Domestic	0	4	0	1	2	3	0	3	0	2	15
Other Story, Foreign	0	6	1	6	8	26	0	4	6	6	63
AP Photo	8	6	2	5	9	9	0	6	3	7	55
UPI Photo	7	4	1	2	8	0	0	0	2	1	25
Staff Photo	2	2	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	7
Other Photo	2	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	5
Other	1	0	1	2	2	0	0	0	0	3	9
Total	115	46	38	49	90	49	16	34	48	72	557

TABLE A

NONFARM EMPLOYMENT

Source	Non-manufacturing industry	Commercial activities	Professional occupations	Small business owners	Industrial "white-collar"	Communication media	Entertainment industry	Educational institutions	Mfg. light industry	Heavy industry
Heavy industry, Domestic	17	12	8	3	9	4	12	3	4	17
Heavy industry, Foreign	79	6	25	0	99	0	4	0	24	20
Ag industry, Domestic	3	1	0	3	7	0	0	0	0	0
Ag industry, Foreign	3	3	0	0	3	0	0	0	3	3
Mfg industry, Domestic	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mfg industry, Foreign	0	6	0	16	0	0	0	0	4	3
Other industry, Domestic	0	6	0	1	3	3	0	3	0	3
Other industry, Foreign	0	6	1	0	3	24	0	0	4	6
Ag Place	8	4	3	0	8	4	0	0	3	7
Urb Place	7	4	1	3	8	0	0	0	1	3
Small Place	3	3	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	1
Other Place	3	8	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	3
Other	1	0	1	3	3	0	0	0	0	0
TOTAL	115	46	39	46	80	48	19	24	46	52

with 25, by more than two to one. There were only seven staff photos. Five photos did not include a source.

Summary

A comparison of the figures in Tables I, II, III and IV revealed that, with only a few exceptions, those newspapers which scored high in volume also scored high in number of key election issues and main developments covered. In several cases, however, more news items printed did not necessarily mean a corresponding bulk in total number of inches nor did a high volume total indicate greater coverage of key issues and main developments.

The top three papers in total volume, the New York Times, Washington Post, and Los Angeles Times, remained in the top positions with only minor changes in coverage of both issues and developments. The Washington Post, second in number of news items and total column inches, was the only paper to cover all of the seven issues and 20 main developments. The New York Times led in total volume and covered all of the issues and all but one development. The third place Los Angeles Times covered all of the issues and 16 main developments.

An examination of Table III showed that the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, Milwaukee Journal and Christian Science Monitor, which scored low in total volume, carried each issue at least once; however, none of the papers

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An examination of Tables III showed that the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, Milwaukee Journal and Christian Science Monitor, which scored low in total volume, carried each issue at least once; however, none of the papers

covered all of the main developments, or scored above 80 per cent.

The Christian Science Monitor, eighth in number of items, covered all of the issues and all but four of the main developments. The Louisville Courier-Journal, which placed fourth in both number of items and column inches, covered only 72 per cent of the issues and 60 per cent of the developments. The Chicago Tribune, fifth in number of inches and sixth in number of items, covered 86 per cent of the issues and 70 per cent of the main developments.

The Milwaukee Journal, which placed fifth in news items and seventh in column inches, covered 80 per cent of the main developments and all of the issues. However, a descriptive analysis of Journal coverage showed that a majority of the issues and developments were only mentioned and not explained. This same kind of coverage also existed on many occasions in the Atlanta Constitution, St. Louis Post-Dispatch, Louisville Courier-Journal, Chicago Tribune, and Wall Street Journal.

The Wall Street Journal, last in volume, mentioned six issues and ten developments, in short one paragraph summaries.

The first hypothesis, that "examination will show the sample of ten prestige newspapers furnish measurable differences among themselves in the length and number of items and degree of coverage of issues and developments,"

covered all of the main developments, or scored above 80 per cent.

The Christian Science Monitor, which in number of items, covered all of the leaves and all but four of the main developments. The Louisville Courier-Journal, which placed fourth in both number of items and column inches, covered only 73 per cent of the leaves and 80 per cent of the developments. The Chicago Tribune, fifth in number of inches and sixth in number of items, covered 68 per cent of the leaves and 70 per cent of the main developments.

The Milwaukee Journal, which placed fifth in both items and seventh in column inches, covered 60 per cent of the main developments and all of the leaves. However, a descriptive analysis of Journal coverage showed that a majority of the leaves and developments were only mentioned and not explained. This same kind of coverage also existed on many occasions in the Atlanta Constitution, St. Louis Post-Dispatch, Louisville Courier-Journal, Chicago Tribune, and Wall Street Journal.

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The first hypothesis, that "examination will show the quality of the prestige newspapers Turkish newsprint differences among themselves in the length and number of items and degree of coverage of leaves and developments."

was supported.

Examination of the tables, and analysis of the content of the news items, revealed that the readers of each newspaper were not provided with a continuing and adequate account of campaign and election events and issues. Readers of the New York Times, Washington Post and Los Angeles Times would probably have received as much information as from all the other papers combined. Coverage by the Christian Science Monitor, though weak in some areas, was generally comprehensive and accurate.

The readers of the remaining papers were too often given excessively brief, vague and inaccurate accounts of election issues and developments. Coverage in each of these papers was excellent on some issues and events, and non-existent on others.

Information presented by the Atlanta Constitution and Wall Street Journal was generally inadequate in all areas of volume and comprehensiveness.

the supported.

Examination of the ratios, and analysis of the content of the news items, revealed that the readers of each newspaper were also provided with a contrasting and adequate account of complex and diverse events and issues. Readers of the New York Times, Manchester Guardian and the Australian Times would previously have received as much information as from all the other papers combined. Coverage by the Manchester Guardian Weekly, though weak in some areas, was generally comprehensive and accurate.

The weakness of the remaining papers was too often given accurately brief, vague and inaccurate accounts of objective issues and developments. Overstaye an study of these papers was explained on some items and events, and correlations on others.

Independence previously by the Sydney Observations and Daily Mirror Journal was unevenly inadequate in all areas of volume and comprehensiveness.

FOOTNOTES

[1]Don Cook, "No Drastic Steps Seen In French Interim Rule," Los Angeles Times, April 29, 1969, p. 1.

[2]Anthony Lewis, "Regination Stirs Hopes For West Europe Unity," New York Times, April 28, 1969, p. 1.

[3]Henry Tanner, "Pompidou Tells Gaullist Leaders That Britain Must Enter Europe," New York Times, May 15, 1969, p. 3.

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[5]Henry Tanner, "Duclos Gains While Poher Slips In Poll," New York Times, May 29, 1969, p. 6.

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[7]John L. Hess, "French Radio-T.V. Turns Objective," New York Times, May 4, 1969, p. 20.

[8]Henry Tanner, "Pompidou Vows To Change Policy," New York Times, May 10, 1969, p. 1.

[9]Donald Loucheim, "Rival Swings His Party To Pompidou," Washington Post, May 1, 1969, p. 1.

[10]Donald Loucheim, "Poher Pledges Closer U. S. Ties, Decries French Nuclear Force," Washington Post, May 23, 1969, p. A-1.

[11]Ibid.

[12]Donald Loucheim, "Gaullist Aura Tarnishes Quickly," Washington Post, May 25, 1969, p. A-22.

[13]"Poher Hits Grandeur As Waste," Washington Post, May 22, 1969, p. A-20.

[14]Jonathan C. Randal, "Controlled T.V. Is French Voting Issue," Washington Post, May 19, 1969, p. A-10.

[15]"Pompidou Favors New Talks With Britain," May 21, 1969, Los Angeles Times, p. 2.

NOTES

[1] Tom Doyle, "No Drastic Steps Seen In French Currency Role," New Orleans Times, April 24, 1969, p. 1.

[2] Martney Lewis, "Negotiations Strike Snags For West Europe Unity," New York Times, April 12, 1969, p. 1.

[3] Barry Tanner, "Foreign Tells Committee Lenders Must Provide Base Under Europe," New York Times, May 13, 1969, p. 3.

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[9] Ronald Lancaster, "Naval Beings Pile Treaty On Pamphlet," Washington Post, May 1, 1969, p. 1.

[10] Donald Lancaster, "Wives Pledges Closest B. E. Plan, Seeks French Nuclear Power," Washington Post, May 23, 1969, p. A-1.

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[12] Donald Lancaster, "Nullify Nuke Warheads Quickly," Washington Post, May 25, 1969, p. A-23.

[13] "Poles Rely Reactor As Ready," Washington Post, May 22, 1969, p. A-20.

[14] Jonathan C. Randal, "Controlled I.V. In French Voting Power," Washington Post, May 15, 1969, p. A-12.

[15] "Pamphlet Favors New Talks With Reicals," May 21, 1969, Los Angeles Times, p. 2.

[16]Don Cook, "Poher Tops Pompidou In French Opinion Poll," Los Angeles Times, May 14, 1969, p. 21.

[17]Don Cook, "Poher Vote Campaign Similar To Harding," Los Angeles Times, May 22, 1969, p. 9.

[18]Ibid.

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[21]Carlyle Morgan, "De Gaulle's Going Comes Home," Christian Science Monitor, May 3-5, 1969, p. 1.

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CHAPTER IV

FOCUS OF COVERAGE

Another important question under investigation was how the ten prestige newspapers covered the campaign. Did these papers focus on the candidates and their progress or on the issues of the campaign and election?

Accurate and meaningful coverage of the campaign and election would include information on both issues and candidates. A general insight into French election processes, and an understanding of this particular election, could not be gained from superficial reporting of either the candidates or the issues. When important election issues were completely ignored, or only briefly mentioned, and when the candidates' progress was not consistently reported the readers received fragmented, inaccurate views of election issues and events.

Coverage which included descriptions of the issues and the candidates and attempted to tie them together within the context of the entire election picture provided the reader with an understanding of the importance of the election. An analysis of the focus of election coverage would indicate whether the papers concentrated on the

CHAPTER IV

ROLES OF CANDIDATES

Another important question needs investigation then how the key personalities interpreted the campaign. Did these persons focus on the candidates and their positions or on the issues of the campaign and election?

Accurate and meaningful knowledge of the campaign and election would include information on both issues and candidates. A general insight into French election procedures, and an understanding of this particular election, could not be gained from superficial reporting of either the candidates or the issues. When importance, election issues were completely ignored, or only verbally mentioned, and when the candidates' programs were not considerably reported the complete received treatment, inaccurate views of election issues and events.

Coverage which included descriptions of the issues and the candidates and attempted to tie them together within the context of the entire election period provided the reader with an understanding of the importance of the election. An analysis of the focus of election coverage would indicate whether the papers concentrated on the

candidates and their progress or on the key issues. This chapter is devoted to a discussion of the second hypothesis, that "All of the papers will be found to focus on the candidates and their progress rather than on the issues and developments." A description of the amount of coverage given each candidate by each paper is also included. The first section includes a description of coding procedures for the second hypothesis.

Items and Paragraphs

Each news item was coded as a candidate or issue item, or story, after determining the direction of the individual paragraphs. The focus of the majority of the individual paragraphs would indicate whether the story concentrated on candidates or issues.

A paragraph that contained information on campaign and election issues, though it may have mentioned the candidates, was coded as an issue paragraph.

When the paragraph did not focus on the issues and appeared to emphasize the candidates and their progress alone it was coded as a candidate paragraph.

When the paragraph did not deal directly with either candidates or issues it was coded as a background paragraph.

There were 34 items which were not coded either way. They included stories on the French "notables," the

candidates and their platforms at on the key issues. This chapter is devoted to a discussion of the second hypothesis. Also "All of the Below" will be found to focus on the candidates and their positions rather than on the issues and development." A description of the manner in which each debate is also included. The first section includes a description of voting procedure for the second hypothesis.

Issues and Partisanship

Each issue item was coded as a candidate or issue item, or other, after determining the direction of the individual perception. The score of the majority of the qualitative perceptions would indicate whether the study concentrated on candidates or issues.

A paradigm that contrasted information on campaign and election issues, though it may have mentioned the candidates, was coded as an issue paradigm.

When the paradigm did not focus on the issues and appeared to emphasize the candidates and their policies alone it was coded as a candidate paradigm.

When the paradigm did not deal directly with either candidates or issues it was coded as a background paradigm.

There were 36 items which were not coded either way. They included stories on the Brown "outrage," the

French election process, a humorous commentary by columnist Art Buchwald and other content which could not be coded in either the candidate or issue category.

The ten prestige papers included a total of 280 candidate items and 2,939 paragraphs on the candidates.

There were 131 items and 1,494 paragraphs devoted to the issues. The number of background paragraphs totaled 932.

Table VI shows there were twice as many total articles on the candidates as on the issues. Each paper concentrated more on the candidates than the issues. Coverage by the New York Times, Washington Post, and Los Angeles Times was more closely balanced than the coverage of the other papers. A three to two proportion between candidate and issue items existed in these three papers. The number of candidate items included by the Christian Science Monitor, Louisville Courier-Journal and Atlanta Constitution was more than double the number of issue items. The St. Louis Post-Dispatch, Milwaukee Journal and Chicago Tribune carried three times as many candidate as issue items. The greatest imbalance in coverage existed in the Wall Street Journal where only two of 16 articles concentrated on the issues.

The campaign presented two very different personalities. It was easy for the ten papers to describe the personal and political differences between Georges Pompidou

TABLE VI

FOCUS OF CAMPAIGN COVERAGE

	Candidates		Issues		Background
	Items	Paragraphs	Items	Paragraphs	Paragraphs
New York Times	49	684	32	386	228
St. Louis Post-Dispatch	21	145	7	86	44
Christian Science Monitor	21	244	9	134	104
Milwaukee Journal	27	162	8	85	53
Washington Post	37	414	23	282	172
Louisville Courier-Journal	25	304	12	120	88
Wall Street Journal	14	92	2	27	32
Atlanta Constitution	18	252	8	101	42
Chicago Tribune	34	277	8	82	65
Los Angeles Times	34	365	22	191	136
Total	280	2,939	131	1,494	964

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and Alain Poher. One was a Gaullist, a former Prime Minister, an admirer of modern art and "haute culture," and a past director of the Rothschild Bank in Paris. The other was a little-known Centrist Mayor and Senator, a quiet leader in the European Parliament, an enthusiastic gardener and a man who had spent his entire life in the lower echelons of the French governmental structure.

Alain Poher's sudden rise to fame and recognition seemed to symbolize the American concept of a fearless, can-do, come-from-behind political leader. Here was a man who successfully directed the opposition campaign against General de Gaulle's constitutional referendum. Poher suddenly became known as the man who single-handedly brought about the General's retirement. Here was a man who preferred to travel in his own private car, on the side streets of Paris, escorted by only one motorcycle policeman, not four or six, which customarily escorted the General up and down the Champs Elysee. Not only had this little-known French politician dared to take on de Gaulle himself, as Interim President he also attacked the General's long-standing policies.

The "Poher phenomenon" was good copy. He was a natural subject for human interest items. Several papers concentrated their emphasis on Poher's personality and did not explain his position on the key issues.

Pompidou was given a great amount of coverage

because he was a familiar Gaullist leader. He had been de Gaulle's right hand man until he was "fired" by the General in 1968. The majority of the papers emphasized the fact that he was "fired" because the General was jealous of the former Prime Minister's success in handling the May/June 1968 crisis. The social life of Mr. and Mrs. Pompidou was also mentioned in descriptions of the former Prime Minister. Because he had fallen into disfavor with de Gaulle, and the General had not endorsed his candidacy, Pompidou was also a kind of underdog in the campaign.

The New York Times, Washington Post and Los Angeles Times included larger total numbers of news items, thus their totals in both candidate and issue categories were substantially higher than the other papers. Each of these three papers included several articles which were personal histories of the major candidates. The New York Times and Washington Post also included stories on Jacques Duclos, Gaston Defferre and Pierre Mendes-France. The majority of the candidate articles were devoted to descriptions of the voter strength of particular candidates as reflected in the public opinion polls, the line up of parties and candidates before and after the June 1 ballot, and the progress of the candidates as they campaigned. The large number of candidates, by American standards, may have helped to explain the emphasis on the candidates.

As Table IV showed, each of these three papers

covered all the public opinion surveys. The poll results were not listed in one paragraph summaries but explained in the context of the entire campaign and election. Coverage of the May 14 public opinion survey by the New York Times was typical of the reporting of poll results by the top three papers.

> According to a poll by the French Public Opinion Institute (IFOP), one of the country's leading opinion samplers, if the presidential election were held today, Mr. Poher would defeat Georges Pompidou, the Gaullist candidate, in a two-man race by 56 per cent to 44 per cent.
>
> The institute has had an excellent record of accuracy in national elections. Today's poll was commissioned by France Soir, a strongly Gaullist mass circulated daily. If accurate it reflects a dramatic reversal in the fortunes of the two men. Today's poll shows that Mr. Poher would inherit most of the leftist votes, apparently because leftists consider him the lesser evil.[1]

In addition to listing the results of the May 22 survey, the Washington Post described the results in relation to the previous polls and analyzed the gains and losses for each candidate. This particular poll was important because it revealed sizable gains by the Communist candidate, gains which would nearly sweep Jacques Duclos into second place on June 1. The Post explained that as Duclos gained in voter strength Poher declined. Poher registered his greatest single percentage drop, from 37 to 30 per cent, in this poll. The Washington Post was the only paper to carry the following Poher quote:

"I am not forgetting that a couple of weeks ago I

was unknown in France, and 36 per cent or 37 per cent bothered me. But 30 per cent seems to be a good starting point."[2]

These three papers also presented information on the progress of the candidates' campaigns. An example of this was the May 24 article in the New York Times which described new campaign tactics by Poher and Pompidou.

> Both front-running candidates have changed their tactics during the last few days. Mr. Poher, who had been dealing exclusively in good natured generalities, now is discussing basic domestic and foreign policies and is attacking Mr. Pompidou's record as General de Gaulle's Premier for six years. Mr. Pompidou, who had stressed his willingness to depart from past Gaullist policies, is now once more standing on the Gaullist record and defending his own and the former President's achievements.[3]

This change in strategy was also reflected in the candidate's last major T.V. speeches.

A May 30 story in the Los Angeles Times presented conclusions similar to those expressed in the New York Times and Washington Post.

> In the past 12 days the Gaullist candidate has traveled by executive jet, helicopter and car to all of France's 21 regions.
>
> By contrast, the campaign travel of his major opponent, Alain Poher, has been limited to a few journeys from the Right Bank of Paris to the Left Bank.
>
> Yet for all Pompidou's whirlwind American-style campaign activity, few voters seem to have switched into his camp. His percentage remains at 41 as in the previous polls.[5]

This was the type of candidate reporting included in the New York Times, Washington Post and Los Angeles

was unknown to France, and 30 per cent of 37 per cent bothered me. Just 30 per cent seems to be a good starting point."[2]

These three papers also presented information on the progress of the candidates' campaigns. An example of this was the May 14 article in the New York Times which described new campaign centers by Pompidou and Poniatowski.

> Both front-running candidates have changed their tactics during the last few days. Mr. Pompidou, who had been dealing successfully in good national generalities, now is discussing basic domestic and foreign policies and is attacking his opponent's record as General de Gaulle's Premier for six years. Mr. Poniatowski, who had structured his activities to support Jean Lecanuet, Centrist and Independent candidate, is now more active speaking on his own initiative and defending his own and the General's achievements.[3]

This change in strategy was also reflected in the candidate's last major T.V. speeches.

A May 10 story in the New Republic views newspaper conclusions similar to those expressed in the New York Times and Washington Post.

> In the past 12 days the Gaullist candidate has traveled by executive jet, helicopter and car to all of France's 11 regions.
>
> By contrast, his opponent Lecanuet, at his major appearance, Place Bonne, has been limited to a few journeys from the Right bank of Paris to the Left bank.
>
> Yet for all Pompidou's whirlwind Presidentially campaign activity, the voters seem to have watched into his act. His pro-campaign remains as it was in the previous polls.[4]

This was the type of candidate reporting involved in the New York Times, Washington Post and Los Angeles

Times. It was interesting, often humorous, and informative.

Even though coverage in these three papers favored the candidates, the issues were by no means neglected. Election coverage included detailed descriptions of the candidates' positions as they related to the campaign and election issues and events. The progress of the candidates was explained in the context of the total election situation. An accurate presentation of the complete election picture included a clear description of the issues themselves.

A large percentage of total coverage in these three papers involved a discussion of the issues. Over 40 per cent of the stories in the New York Times, Los Angeles Times and Washington Post contained a majority of paragraphs that discussed the key election issues. Though it is difficult to determine an optimum proportion of candidate to issue items, the focus of election reporting in the top three papers included comprehensive coverage of both issues and candidates.

Coverage by the remaining seven papers did not focus partly on candidates and partly on issues. These papers too often neglected a discussion of key issues, including instead information only on the candidates. In many cases this information was not clear or complete.

The Milwaukee Journal mentioned the results of all three public opinion polls. The candidates themselves were

given little coverage outside of mentioning their gains and losses in the public opinion surveys. Short one paragraph items appeared in the Journal "News In Brief" section carrying headlines which read, "Poher Now Forecast To Beat Pompidou," "Poher Slips In French Poll," and "Pompidou Out In Front."

A description of the issues was equally brief. Only one article in the Milwaukee Journal (May 21) explained the issues and candidates' positions.

With the exception of the Wall Street Journal, which included only two issue items, the Chicago Tribune had the highest ratio of candidate to issue items. Only eight of 42 items were devoted to the issues. Tribune headlines described Poher as "Favored In French Race," "Keeping Cool In French Race," and "Slipping In French Race." None of these articles discussed the issues. Poher's positions were briefly mentioned two days before the first vote. Pompidou's never were included.

Several papers which had neglected the issues throughout much of the campaign attempted to bring their readers up to date before the June 1 vote. The Chicago Tribune did not. Instead, correspondent Marcel Wallenstein fell back on the old rejoinder that "if he is elected President of France Alain Poher may find himself and his country submerged in the chaos which former President Charles de Gaulle predicted before he resigned."[6]

Wallenstein even forecast a possible Communist government:

"If Poher is forced to call new National Assembly elections the powerful Communist Party would immediately take advantage of such a condition to impose a popular front government upon the country."[7]

The Louisville Courier-Journal, Christian Science Monitor and St. Louis Post-Dispatch did not mention either the first or second public opinion poll. Each one of these papers included the results of the May 22 poll which indicated that 67 per cent would prefer an "umpire" president (Poher), while only 23 per cent indicated they preferred a president who decided "broad policy lines" (Pompidou). Yet none of these papers mentioned the seven-point speech by Poher which occurred on the very same day.

In this speech Poher discussed each of the seven key issues, many of which he had initiated, and which Pompidou reluctantly took a stand on.

The Christian Science Monitor was the exception among these seven papers. It often included descriptive articles on the candidates and the issues. As previously explained, the Christian Science Monitor over-concentrated on the breakdown of the leftist coalition. This particular candidate item was given continuous coverage long after it had ceased to be an important development. As a result, an early description of the issues and the candidates'

positions on them was missing from the Christian Science Monitor coverage.

In many cases candidate coverage was inadequate in the Louisville Courier-Journal, Atlanta Constitution and St. Louis Post-Dispatch. The Post-Dispatch did not mention Giscard d'Estaing's support of Pompidou, the Defferre-Mendes-France team, and Antoine Pinay's endorsement of Pompidou. The Atlanta Constitution and the Louisville Courier-Journal mentioned the d'Estaing endorsement and the Defferre-Mendes-France ticket. The Courier-Journal carried a New York Times News Service story on d'Estaing and a Washington Post News Service story on Mendes-France.

The first major Constitution article to discuss the issues appeared on May 25, and the first Courier-Journal article that dealt with the issues appeared on May 28.

With the exception of the New York Times, Washington Post, and Los Angeles Times, each of the papers presented some of the positions taken by the candidates on some of the issues. None of the papers in this group of seven explained the viewpoints of the two major candidates on all of the issues.

Candidate Coverage

Table VII describes candidate coverage. It shows the number of items and number of paragraphs principally devoted to each candidate. An item was coded for a

positions on time was clearly from the Charleston Evening Courier coverage.

In many cases candidate coverage was inadequate in the Louisville Courier-Journal, Atlanta Constitution and St. Louis Post-Dispatch. The Post-Dispatch did not mention Graves d'Estaing's support of Pendleton, the Baltimore-Boston-France vote, and Antoine Simon's endorsement of Pendleton. The Atlanta Constitution and the Louisville Courier-Journal mentioned the d'Estaing endorsement and the Baltimore-Boston-France ticket. The Courier-Journal covered a New York Times News Service story on d'Estaing and a Washington Post News Service story on Boston-France.

The first major Constitution article to discuss the issues appeared on May 23, and the first Courier-Journal article that dealt with the issues appeared on May 28.

With the exception of the New York Times, Pendleton Post, and Los Angeles Times, each of the papers presented most of the positions taken by the candidates on most of the issues. Some of the papers in this group of seven explained the viewpoints of the two major candidates on all of the issues.

Candidate Coverage

Table VII describes candidate coverage. It shows the number of times and manner of paragraphs principally devoted to each candidate. An item was coded for a

TABLE VII

BREAKDOWN OF CANDIDATE COVERAGE

	Pompidou		Poher		Others	
	Items	Para-graphs	Items	Para-graphs	Items	Para-graphs
New York Times	22	348	21	266	6	70
St. Louis Post-Dispatch	12	75	8	59	1	11
Christian Science Monitor	7	84	7	76	7	84
Milwaukee Journal	11	78	12	62	4	22
Washington Post	15	159	17	176	5	79
Louisville Courier-Journal	15	175	9	120	1	9
Wall Street Journal	10	57	3	27	1	8
Atlanta Constitution	14	176	2	59	2	17
Chicago Tribune	15	119	17	139	2	19
Los Angeles Times	12	142	17	167	5	56
Total	133	1,413	113	1,151	34	375

Δήμοι	Ιαν	Γενάρ	Φεβ	Δεκέμ	Σύν
Νομαρχία Αττικής	75	782	14	704	96
Δήμος Αθηναίων	72	718	11	714	75
Δήμος Πειραιώς	19	736	5	32	33
Δήμος Αμαρουσίου	10	21	3	15	8
Κοινότητα Χαλανδρίου	19	720	9	730	6
Δήμος Περιστερίου	79	728	12	720	35
Δήμος Καλλιθέας	11	19	12	95	23
Δήμος Νέας Σμύρνης	3	81	4	30	21
Δήμος Κορυδαλλού	15	32	6	28	11
Δήμος Αγίας Βαρβάρας	55	348	32	397	30

Δήμος ΧΙΙΙ

	Σύνολο Δήμου...	Τέκνα	Σύνολο Δήμου...	Τέκνα
	Καθηγητών		Δόκιμοι	
Διευθυντής Σχολείου Εφαρμογών				

particular candidate when a majority of the paragraphs within the item were concerned with that candidate.

There were 133 candidate items which emphasized Pompidou and 113 items which emphasized Poher. A total of 34 items were concerned with one or more of the five remaining candidates.

The figures in the table show this rather close balance between the two major candidates does not apply to the individual papers.

Four of the papers, the Milwaukee Journal, Washington Post, Chicago Tribune and Los Angeles Times, included more Poher than Pompidou articles. The New York Times included 22 Pompidou items and 21 Poher items. The St. Louis Post-Dispatch, Louisville Courier-Journal and Wall Street Journal gave a substantial share of their campaign coverage to Pompidou.

The Christian Science Monitor had the closest balance between the two major candidates and the five lesser candidates. There were seven stories on Poher and Pompidou and seven stories devoted to one or more of the remaining candidates.

Each of the papers included at least one article on the less important candidates. It is interesting to note that coverage by the Washington Post and Los Angeles Times, both leaders in total volume and comprehensiveness, favored Poher; and the New York Times, number one in volume and

particular candidate when a majority of the participants within the issue were concerned with that candidate.

There were 123 candidate issues which emphasized Pengidon and 123 issues which emphasized Ember. A total of 34 issues were concerned with one or more of the five remaining candidates.

The figures in the table show this emphasis balance between the two major candidates does not apply to the individual papers.

Four of the papers, the Baltimore Journal, Washington Post, Chicago Tribune and Los Angeles Times, included more Ember than Pengidon articles. The Times included 22 Pengidon items and 21 Ember items. The St. Louis Post-Dispatch, Indianapolis Courier-Journal and Wall Street Journal views a substantial share of their coverage to Pengidon.

The Christian Science Monitor had the closest balance between the two major candidates and the five lesser candidates. There were seven articles on Pengidon and seven articles devoted to one or more of the remaining candidates.

Each of the papers included at least one article on the issue importance candidates. It is interesting to note that coverage by the Washington Post and Los Angeles Times, both leaders in total volume and comprehensiveness, favored Ember and the San Jose Times, number one in volume and

second in reporting of issues and developments, included only one more article on Pompidou than Poher. Coverage by those papers which had the lowest totals in volume and comprehensiveness, the Post-Dispatch, Courier-Journal, Atlanta Constitution and Wall Street Journal favored Pompidou. As previously discussed, coverage by each of the leaders in volume and comprehensiveness was accurate and complete on all of the seven issues and all but a few of the 20 main developments.

Except for the Milwaukee Journal, which included one more item for Poher than Pompidou, each of the papers with more Poher items used articles from their foreign correspondents. It is possible that these correspondents, accustomed to the intricacies of French voting patterns, and having witnessed the referendum defeat in April, best realized the importance of the challenge by Alain Poher.

A comment by Jonathan C. Randal in the June 16 issue of the Washington Post was typical of the tone of several of the articles by the New York Times' Henry Tanner, the Washington Post's Donald Loucheim, and the Los Angeles Times' Don Cook.

"At the very least the icy decade of the General's presence was changed for seven weeks by a refreshing greeting at the Elysee; 'The House is open to all.'"[8]

Summary

A complete and accurate description of the relationship between the candidates and the issues would facilitate an understanding of the significance of the election. When candidates and issues were ignored, or reported in an inconsistent manner, the reader received an inaccurate, misleading picture of the election. Only the New York Times, Los Angeles Times and Washington Post included complete, correct descriptions of the candidates and the issues. The remaining seven papers adequately explained some issues and neglected others. Though candidate stories predominated in all ten papers, these seven papers often concentrated on the candidates' progress and excluded information on the issues.

The hypothesis set out to be answered at the start of the chapter was supported. Figures in Table VI supported the second hypothesis, that "All of the papers will be found to focus on the candidates and their progress rather than on the issues and developments." The total number of items and paragraphs for candidates' progress was more than double the number of issue items and paragraphs.

Table VII showed that candidate coverage was about equally divided between the two major candidates. Even though Gaullist candidate Georges Pompidou received a slightly larger number of total items, four of the ten papers included more items which were primarily concerned

with Centrist Alain Poher. One paper, the Christian Science Monitor, carried the same number of items for both major candidates as well as the other five candidates.

with Chocolate Malt Balls. One piece. The Chocolates Delicious Selection, consist of three pieces of three each major confections in well as the other fifty candidates.

FOOTNOTES

[1]Henry Tanner, "French Poll Shows Poher Winning Over Pompidou In Runoff For French Presidency," New York Times, May 14, 1969, p. 5.

[2]Donald Loucheim, "Frenchmen Favor British Commart Bid," Washington Post, May 22, 1969, p. A-20.

[3]"Poher Is Still Favored As French Race Tightens," New York Times, May 24, 1969, p. 4.

[4]Donald Loucheim, "French Candidates Wind Up Campaign," Washington Post, May 31, 1969, p. A-12.

[5]Donald Loucheim, "Travels Fail To Boost Pompidou's Election Odds," Los Angeles Times, May 30, 1969, p. 17.

[6]Marcel Wallenstein, "Chaos A Real Possibility If Poher Wins In France," Chicago Tribune, May 31, 1969, p. 7.

[7]Ibid.

[8]Jonathan C. Randal, "Slow Start, Drab Style Hurt Poher," Washington Post, June 16, 1969, p. A-1.

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[6] Marcel Weinstein, "Show & Real Possibility If Power Wins In Trends," Chicago Tribune, May 31, 1969, p. 7.

[7] Ibid.

[8] Joachim O. Kandel, "Blow Short, Drab Style Sure Pubs," Washington Post, June 16, 1969, p. 3-1.

CHAPTER V

DIRECTION OF COVERAGE

French election procedures and processes are vastly different from those in the United States. Therefore, a strict presentation of facts on the candidates, issues and developments would not provide the readers of the sample newspapers with an insight into the campaign and election. The most comprehensive and meaningful coverage would include a mixture of interpretative as well as straight reporting.

The third hypothesis, that "Examination will indicate that coverage, although centered on candidates, will be concerned primarily with straight news, interpretative accounts of events and value statements, and not exhibit statements of advocacy toward candidates or issues," is discussed in this chapter.

Five specific categories were established to measure the direction of each news item and thus determine whether campaign coverage was primarily concerned with straight news and factual background or interpretative commentaries.

An interpretative, straight news and background paragraph was coded as such if it contained no value or

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION OF RESULTS

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The third hypothesis, that "dimension will indicate that coverage, although centered on candidates, will be concerned primarily with straight news, interpretative accounts of events and value statements, and not analysis statements of advocacy toward candidates or issues," is discussed in this chapter.

Five specific categories were established to measure the direction of each news item and thus determine whether campaign coverage was primarily concerned with straight news and factual descriptions or interpretative commentaries.

An interpretative, straight news and descriptive paragraph was coded as such if it contained no value or

advocacy statements. The entire paragraph was coded as a value or an advocacy paragraph if it contained one or more statements of advocacy or value toward a particular candidate or issue. The direction of the entire item depended on the emphasis of the individual paragraphs within the item.

Straight news was defined as news which happened, or continues to happen, within the daily publication time cycle of the newspaper. A paragraph that contained information on an action that would take place in the future was also coded as straight news.

Background news differed from straight news only in the time factor. A background paragraph described events which occurred prior to the daily publication time cycle, or "news day" of the newspaper.

An interpretative item contained the reporter's opinion about the relative significance, importance or news value of a particular campaign and election event or issue.

A paragraph was coded as a value paragraph when a specific valuation was appended to an observable aspect of an event or issue. These paragraphs often included descriptive verbs, adjectives, nouns and various phrases with definite value connotations.

An advocacy paragraph differed from a value paragraph when the reporter advocated a specific course of action or thinking instead of expressing an opinion on the

advocacy statements. The entire paragraph was coded as a value or an advocacy paragraph if it contained one or more statements of advocacy or value toward a particular candidate or issue. The direction of the entire item depended on the emphasis of the individual paragraphs within the item.

Straight news was defined as news which happened, or continues to happen, within the daily publication time cycle of the newspaper. A paragraph that contained information on an action that would take place in the future was also coded as straight news.

Background news differed from straight news only in the time factor. A background paragraph described events which occurred prior to the daily publication time cycle, or "news day" of the newspaper.

An interpretative item contained the reporter's opinion about the relative significance, importance or news value of a particular candidate and directed error or issue.

A paragraph was coded as a value paragraph when a specific valuation was applied to an observable aspect of an event or issue. These paragraphs often included descriptive verbs, adjectives, nouns and various phrases with definite value connotations.

An advocacy paragraph differed from a value paragraph when the reporter advocated a specific course of action or thinking instead of expressing an opinion on the

value of an event or issue.

Tables VIII and IX give the total number of news items and paragraphs in each category. The tables show that a total of 158 items and 1,478 paragraphs in the ten newspapers contained straight news. There were 61 background items and 767 background paragraphs. Items which were primarily interpretative totaled 243, with 2,352 paragraphs. There were 95 value items and 1,257 value paragraphs. There were no news items which contained advocacy statements.

The total for strictly factual coverage--straight news and background--was 219 items with 2,245 paragraphs. Interpretative coverage included interpretative commentaries and value items. For interpretative coverage the total was 338 items and 3,609 paragraphs.

The figures indicate that news coverage for the campaign and election was primarily interpretative in nature.

The proportions of factual and interpretative coverage were similar for all of the papers except the Milwaukee Journal. The total number of factual news items and paragraphs in the Journal was slightly larger than the total number of interpretative items and paragraphs. The majority of the news items in the Milwaukee Journal were short one paragraph summaries of campaign and election issues and events and not lengthy interpretative

value of an event or issue.

Tables VIII and IX give the total number of news items and paragraphs in each category. The tables show a total of 139 items and 1,474 paragraphs in the two newspapers contained straight news. There were 81 background items and 787 background paragraphs. Items which were primarily interpretative totaled 343, with 3,351 paragraphs. There were 93 value items and 1,317 value paragraphs. There were no news items which contained advocacy statements.

The total for strictly factual coverage--straight news and background--was 139 items with 3,245 paragraphs. Interpretative coverage included interpretative commentaries and value items. For interpretative coverage the total was 330 items and 3,648 paragraphs.

The figures indicate that news coverage for the campaign and election was primarily interpretative in nature.

The proportions of factual and interpretative coverage were similar for all of the papers except the Allentown Journal. The total number of factual news items and paragraphs in the Journal was slightly larger than the total number of interpretative items and paragraphs. The majority of the news items in the Allentown Journal were about one paragraph summaries of campaign and election issues and events and not lengthy interpretative

TABLE VIII

BREAKDOWN OF ITEM CONTENT--NUMBER OF ITEMS

	Straight News	Back-ground	Interpre-tative	Value	Advocacy
New York Times	31	18	49	17	0
St. Louis Post-Dispatch	13	6	19	8	0
Christian Science Monitor	9	3	16	10	0
Milwaukee Journal	21	6	16	6	0
Washington Post	21	9	44	16	0
Louisville Courier-Journal	14	5	21	9	0
Wall Street Journal	7	0	6	3	0
Atlanta Constitution	15	2	11	6	0
Chicago Tribune	11	5	26	6	0
Los Angeles Times	16	7	35	14	0
Totals	158	61	243	95	0

Note: These totals include the figures for 33 background items which were included in the total news item breakdown in Table II. Editorials and editorial columns are not included in this table.

TABLE IX

BREAKDOWN OF ITEM CONTENT--NUMBER OF PARAGRAPHS

	Straight News	Back-ground	Interpre-tative	Value	Advocacy
New York Times	306	233	602	340	0
St. Louis Post-Dispatch	82	66	114	58	0
Christian Science Monitor	124	51	208	117	0
Milwaukee Journal	146	58	118	90	0
Washington Post	162	121	420	211	0
Louisville Courier-Journal	143	52	235	104	0
Wall Street Journal	58	0	48	35	0
Atlanta Constitution	165	40	108	83	0
Chicago Tribune	114	61	166	83	0
Los Angeles Times	178	85	333	136	0
Totals	1,478	767	2,352	1,257	0

Note: These totals include the figures for 33 background items which were included in the total news item breakdown in Table II. Editorials and editorial columns are not included in this table.

TABLE IX

BREAKDOWN OF ITEM CONTENT--NUMBER OF PARAGRAPHS

	Straight News	Back-ground	Interpre-tative	Value	Advocacy
New York Times	309	183	602	340	0
St. Louis Post-Dispatch	82	66	114	58	0
Christian Science Monitor	124	31	208	117	0
Milwaukee Journal	166	58	110	90	0
Washington Post	152	131	420	211	0
Louisville Courier-Journal	143	53	335	106	0
Wall Street Journal	39	0	63	35	0
Atlanta Constitution	165	40	101	63	0
Chicago Tribune	114	61	164	83	0
Los Angeles Times	179	83	333	136	0
Totals	1,478	767	3,342	1,257	0

Note: These totals include the figures for 33 background items which were included in the total news item breakdown in Table II. Editorials and editorial columns are not included in this table.

explanations. The length and style of these articles explains why the Milwaukee Journal scored higher on straight news and background than on interpretation.

News reporting in the New York Times, Christian Science Monitor, Chicago Tribune and Los Angeles Times was heavily interpretative. The bulk of coverage in each of these papers was made up of items contributed by foreign correspondents which were interpretative analyses of the candidates, issues and events. The number of interpretative stories was more than double the number of factual stories in these papers.

Coverage in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, Louisville Courier-Journal, Wall Street Journal and Atlanta Constitution was more evenly balanced between factual and interpretative items. These newspapers relied on information supplied by the wire services, not material from their own foreign correspondents. Wire service stories tended to be short, factual descriptions of major events and developments.

Interpretative and Value Items

An illustration of the type of article which included interpretative and value paragraphs was a story written by foreign correspondent Anthony Lewis for the New York Times. It began:

> Initial West German reaction to the resignation of President de Gaulle was an expression of hope for a new opening toward unity in Europe, mixed with a fear of

explanations. The length and style of these articles explains why the Illustrated Journal secured higher on average news and background than in interpretation.

News reporting in the New York Times, Christian Science Monitor, Chicago Tribune and Los Angeles Times was heavily interpretative. The bulk of coverage in each of these papers was made up of items contributed by foreign correspondents which were interpretative analyses of the candidates, issues and events. The number of interpretative stories alone was more than double the number of literal reports in these papers.

Coverage in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, Washington Star-Journal, Wall Street Journal and Atlanta Constitution was more evenly balanced between factual and interpretative items. These newspapers relied on information supplied by the wire services, but material from their own foreign correspondents. Wire service stories tended to be short. Factual descriptions of major events and developments.

Interpretation and Value Items

An illustration of the type of article which included interpretative and value paragraphs was a story written by foreign correspondent Anthony Lewis for the New York Times. It began:

Denied that German reaction to the resignation of President de Gaulle was an expression of hope for a new opening toward unity in Europe, mixed with a fear of

the unknown.

> No one here deceives himself that any successor will instantly open his arms to Britain. But the removal of de Gaulle from the scene--if he really is gone--must nevertheless be reckoned the most important event in Western Europe for years.[1]

The first paragraph was coded as interpretative; and the second as a value paragraph because of the phrase, "must be the most important event in Western Europe for years."

A New York Times story by Henry Tanner on May 6 included prime examples of interpretative and value paragraphs.

> It is not only the division of the left that plays into Mr. Pompidou's hands but also the absence, so far, of a moderate non-leftist candidate, who would compete with him for the vote of the middle class.
>
> Mr. Poher would be a dangerous opponent for Mr. Pompidou, however, he is hemmed in on his left by Mr. Defferre and on his right by Mr. Pompidou.[2]

The first paragraph was coded as interpretative, the second as a value paragraph; the latter decision stemming from the description of Poher as a "dangerous opponent for Mr. Pompidou."

An article by Washington Post correspondent Donald Loucheim began with straight news paragraphs and concluded with several interpretative paragraphs.

> The Communists stressed that they would have preferred to support a non-Communist candidate representing all the country's leftist parties. But they said the Socialist Party's decision to back Defferre, who is unacceptable to the Communists, ruled out this alternative.

the outcome.

In the more obvious things that may happen
will inevitably open his eyes to Britain. But the
removal of De Gaulle from the scene--it may be easily be
done--must inevitably be reckoned the most important
event in Western Europe for years.[1]

The first paragraph was coded as interpretative
and the second as a value paragraph because of the phrase,
"must be the most important event in Western Europe for
years."

A Wee Book Talks story by Henry Tenant on May 6
included prime examples of interpretative and value para-
graphs.

It is not only the deletion of the last stop plays
into Mr. Pogidon's hands but also the absence, so far,
of a moderate non-Socialist candidate, who would compete
with him for the vote of the middle class.

Mr. Pogue would be a dangerous opponent for Mr.
Pogidon. However, he is hemmed in on his left by Mr.
Deflerre and on his right by Mr. Pogidon.[2]

The first paragraph was coded as interpretative,
the second as a value paragraph (the latter deriving
stemming from the description of Pogue as a "dangerous
opponent for Mr. Pogidon."

An article by Shackleton Post correspondent Donald
Jonckheim began with straight news paragraphs and continued
with several interpretative paragraphs.

The Communists screamed that they would have pre-
ted to support a non-Communist candidate representing
all the country's leftist parties. But they said the
Socialist Party's decision to back Deflerre, who is
unacceptable to the Communists, ruled out this
alternative.

> The result was the collapse of the shaky leftist coalition that was formed during the last presidential campaign in 1965. It also dramatically spotlighted the problems that have plagued the French left ever since de Gaulle's return to power in 1958.
>
> The Communist decision to back Duclos heralded a return to the pre-1965 "ghetto." It also meant an unwanted test of electoral strength when the party is discredited in France because of the Soviet crackdown in Czechoslovakia.[3]

The coverage of routine straight news events was embellished with amusing personal interpretations by the correspondents of the New York Times, Washington Post and Los Angeles Times.

Correspondent Don Cook of the Los Angeles Times described the Communist abstention in the runoff in a June 3 story.

> In Paris it was learned that some strong Gaullists had cast their ballots for Duclos, the Communist, "because the surest way to ensure a Pompidou victory on the second round is to produce a strong Communist vote in the first round."
>
> It is the kind of political logic which could happen almost nowhere except in France.[4]

Henry Tanner described the campaign progress of the five "lesser" candidates in a story which appeared in the New York Times on May 22.

"Two men are running for the presidency, three competing for third place, and three more getting the world's best bargain in radio and television time. That is the French election campaign."

After a factual description of the candidates and

The Fascist wave the collapse of the newly Leftist coalition that was formed during the last presidential campaign in 1965. It also dramatically spotlighted the problems that have plagued the French Left ever since de Gaulle's return to power in 1958.

The Communist decision to back Mendes heralded a return to the pre-1965 "phase." It also meant an unarmed ticket or electoral wizardry when the party is discredited in France because of the Soviet crackdown in Czechoslovakia."

The coverage of Cecilia Bertolini have events who identified with amazing personal interpretations by the correspondents of the New York Times, Washington Post and Los Angeles Times.

Correspondent Don Cook of the Los Angeles Times described the Communist electorate by the result in a June 3 story.

In Paris it was learned that some strong Gaullists had cast their ballots for Duclos, the Communist. "Because the easiest way to ensure a Pompidou victory on the second round is to produce a Gaullist Communist vote in the first round."

It is the kind of political logic which could happen almost nowhere except in France."

Barry Tadow described the telephoto procedure of the New York Times on May 31.

Five "leader" candidates in a study which appeared in the

"Two men are racing for the presidency. There competing for United plans, and those more vexing the world's over bargain in radio and television time. That is the French electing campaign."

After a textual description of the similarities and

their parties, the story continued:

> Mr. Jacques Duclos campaigning in Lyons the other day was assisted by two campaign workers who were Dominican monks. A small round man with a puckish face and a quick tongue, he dismissed his opponent's attacks by saying, "One throws stones only at trees that bear fruit."
>
> Mr. Louis Ducatel, jowly millionaire and inventor of an unbreakable sewage pipe, is simply enjoying himself. . . . Commenting on his television performance, "I'm terrific," he said.[5]

Most of the papers included value items when the candidates' personalities were discussed.

Correspondent Loucheim characterized Poher in the following manner:

"The image he projected was of a reassuring, unpretentious, avuncular figure, stolid and trustworthy. To a nation used to pomp and circumstance from the President's Elysee Palace; Poher became the incarnate of dignified simplicity."[6]

The Chicago Tribune included this description of Poher on April 28.

> A plump, carefree, bespectacled centrist, Mr. Poher suddenly emerged during the referendum campaign as the leading spokesman for opponents of Gaullist proposals.
>
> Mr. Poher, a middle-of-the-roader, could be one of Mr. Pompidou's strongest opponents, if he decides to run.[7]

Don Cook provided this political comparison in a story which appeared in the Los Angeles Times on May 22.

"If here-to-fore unknown Alain Poher wins a full seven-year term as President of France, it will rank as one

their parties, the story continued:

Mr. Thompson thereupon in lieu the other day was assisted by two campaign workers who were Washington natives. A small room with a public area and a water fountain. He attended his opponent's address by saying, "One thirsty stroke only at times that hour level."

Mr. Louis Dowling, jovial multimillion and lawyer of an unexceptionable average plan, is simply enjoying himself. . . . Commenting on his belligerent performance, "I'm terrific," he said.

Most of the papers lauded wins items when the candidates' personalities were discussed.

Correspondent Lawsuit characterized Power in the following manner:

"The image he projected was of a reasoning, experienced, responsible figure, erudite and trustworthy. To a nation used to pomp and circumstance from the President's wives Patient Power became the incarnate of dignified simplicity."[6]

The Chicago Tribune included this description of Power on April 23.

A plump, dreamily, temperamental newsman, Mr. Power suddenly emerged during the intercourse campaign as the leading spokesman for opponents of Hamilton proposals.

Mr. Power, a middle-of-the-roader, could be one of Mr. Kingston's strongest opponents, if he decides to run.[7]

Don Cook provided this political commentary in a story which appeared in the New Lucerne Times on May 22.

"It hit-to-face address Alvin Power wins a full

of the biggest victories for the 'front porch' campaign techniques since Warren G. Harding was elected President of the United States in 1920."[8]

Interpretative and value statements and paragraphs were also included in descriptions of the issues and developments. Correspondent Carlyle Morgan of the Christian Science Monitor offered this interpretative description of the Communist decision not to vote on June 15.

> The Communists say, "Don't vote at all, let Pompidou and Poher fight it out. We don't want either of them." But it seems that most Frenchmen are aware that the Communists realize that this stand will elect Mr. Pompidou and give France the nearest thing which is now available to yesterday's Gaullist rule.[10]

An interpretative story by Associated Press correspondent John Vinocur in Paris gave this account of the breakdown of the leftist coalition. This story appeared in the Atlanta Constitution and Chicago Tribune on May 6.

> The Duclos candidacy meant that Defferre was an unacceptable candidate for the Communists, just as Defferre, a moderate type Socialist, would not have agreed to ask for Communist support.
>
> The disunity of the left was not increasing Pompidou's votes, only scaling the strength of the left, which has ambitions to capture the French presidency.
>
> Defferre seems willing to write off votes from the left in hope of getting some from the Centrists who opposed de Gaulle and feel that Pompidou, as the former Premier, still represents the General's policies.[11]

Factual Items

The short one and two paragraph factual summaries in the Atlanta Constitution, Milwaukee Journal and Wall

Street Journal differed sharply from the lengthy interpretative analyses found in those newspapers which carried articles from their own foreign correspondents.

A characteristic example of straight news coverage was the May 16 article in the Milwaukee Journal.

> The first presidential "ticket" in French election history was announced Thursday, as Socialist candidate Gaston Defferre signed on former Premier Pierre Mendes-France as his running mate. Defferre pledged that if he is elected President he would name Mendes-France as his Premier.[12]

A description of the possibility of a Poher candidacy typified the short, factual, capsule-type story which appeared in the Wall Street Journal's "What's News" section.

"France's Interim President, Alain Poher, said he might be a candidate in the June 1 presidential election to pick a successor to Charles de Gaulle. Political experts said Poher's entry into the race might force Georges Pompidou, the Gaullist candidate, into a runoff."[13]

A background article in the Atlanta Constitution attempted to bring readers up to date on the results of previous public opinion polls which had not been reported.

"This confirms the findings of earlier surveys which had shown Pompidou leading in the first round but falling short of a majority, and thus making a runoff necessary. There will be seven candidates in the first round, only two in the runoff."[14]

[illegible] distrust simply from the lengthy interpretive analyses found in their newspaper media serial articles from their own foreign correspondents.

A characteristic example of straight news coverage was the way in article in the Baltimore Journal.

> The first presidential "ticket" in French election history was announced Thursday, as Socialist candidate Gaston Defferre signed on Jacques Fauvet's Socialist-Press as his running mate. Defferre pledged that if he is elected President he would name Jacques-Fauvet as his Premier.[13]

A description of the possibility of a Police Gaullist dummy crystal the short, factual, sequence-type story which appeared in the Wall Street Journal's "Abe's News" section.

> "Pierre's Interim President. Alain Poher, said he might be a candidate in the June 1 presidential election to pick a successor to Charles de Gaulle. Political experts said Poher's entry into the race might force Georges Pompidou, the Gaullist candidate, into a runoff."[13]

A Washington article in the Baltimore Journal attempted to bring readers up to date on the results of previous French opinion polls which had not been reported.

> "This confirms the findings of earlier surveys which had shown Pompidou leading in the first round but falling short of a majority, and thus making a runoff necessary. There will be seven candidates in the first round, only two in the runoff."[14]

These stories were typical of the election coverage by the Atlanta Constitution, Wall Street Journal and Milwaukee Journal. In most cases only the bare facts were presented. The majority of the articles in these papers, and several articles in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch and Louisville Courier-Journal, were too brief to explain and interpret the significance of the election issues and events.

An attempt to squeeze a bit of explanatory reporting into these short summaries often resulted in stories which were erroneous and misleading.

On May 5 the Milwaukee Journal included the following story:

"With eight days left before the filing deadline for the June 1 presidential election French political parties of the Left apparently will not be able to agree on Georges Pompidou the Gaullist candidate."[15]

This information is incorrect. The leftist parties never tried to "agree on Georges Pompidou." Instead, several small leftist and socialist parties and political groups, as well as the large, well-organized Communist Party, decided not to endorse Gaston Defferre, the Socialist Party candidate.

A brief story in the Wall Street Journal on May 13 speculated on the strength of the Poher candidacy:

"France's Interim President entered the presidential

election today. Opinion polls indicate Alain Poher, 60, a centrist, could force Pompidou into a runoff in the June 1 ballot. Pompidou, it's forecast, would be the narrowest of winners in the subsequent balloting."[16]

Actually, the public opinion polls alluded to in this article, and in fact all polls, including the one on the eve of the first ballot, forecast Poher, not Pompidou, as the winner in the runoff.

Advocacy Items

None of the news items, regardless of source, contained advocacy statements and paragraphs. Stories which were explicatory analyses by foreign correspondents, and Washington correspondents, concentrated on value rather than advocacy statements. Several editorials and editorial columns did contain advocacy statements. These will be discussed in the next section.

In describing official United States reaction to the de Gaulle resignation and the forthcoming election, a majority of the papers stressed the fact that the Nixon administration preferred to adopt a neutral, wait-and-see posture until the election of the new French president.

Peter Grose of the New York Times described a Washington reaction this way:

"After the coming few weeks of political transition in France the Administration intends to explore gently in

election fairly. Opinion polls indicate Nixon ranks 60. A
majority would favor impeachment into a crowded 15 the June 1
ballot. Impeachment, it's argument, would be the watergate or
witness in the unemployment situation.[19]

Actually, the public opinion polls situated on is
this article, and in fact all polls, including the one on
the eve of the first ballot, increased Nixon, not Kennedy,
as the winner in the runoff.

Secondary Items

Most of the news items, regardless of source,
contained somewhat extraneous and peripheral. Stories
which were explanatory contrary by having correspondents,
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administration preferred to adopt a neutral, wait-and-see
posture until the election of the new French president.

Peter Grose of the New York Times described a
Washington reaction this way:

"After the roaring few weeks of political expansion
in France the Administration learned to appraise quietly in

various Allied capitals to discover any new avenues toward the elusive goal of European unity."[17]

Chalmers Roberts, Washington correspondent for the Washington Post, said the "United States will take a wait-and-see position, proposing no new initiatives on Franco-American or Atlantic policy until the political scene in post-de Gaulle Paris is clarified."[18]

An article in the Chicago Tribune headlined "Nixon Adopts Wait-And-See French Stand" reflected a similar position.

An Associated Press story in the Louisville Courier-Journal expressed a more pessimistic view.

"Official Washington is cautious. Nixon administration officials say that only time can tell but they believe basic de Gaulle policies are now firmly set in French attitudes and enjoy wide popular support."[19]

An article in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch made it clear that there would be no government interference in the election itself, or speculation on its outcome.

> The United States, it is said, looks forward to close relations with de Gaulle's successor, and of course it will avoid any suggestion of a preference because the selection of a new French President is an internal matter in which the U. S. has no role.
>
> In this connection Georges Pompidou, generally regarded by observers as the most likely candidate to succeed de Gaulle, is well thought of in the Nixon administration. The same is said to be true of Alain Poher, the Interim President and President of the Senate.[20]

Editorials and Editorial Columns

Interest by the ten newspapers in the campaign and election was amply shown by the editorials during the period covered by the present study.

There were 43 editorials totaling 476 inches, and 15 editorial columns, with 264 inches. Both editorials and editorial columns fell into three distinct areas. With the exception of the Wall Street Journal, which included only one editorial during the eight-week period, every paper carried at least one editorial on the following subjects: de Gaulle's resignation, the first ballot, and the election of Pompidou as President. Seven papers printed two or more editorials on the General's resignation. Several papers included editorials and/or editorial columns when Pompidou and Poher declared their candidacies.

Those editorials which discussed these three major events were remarkably similar in content. The headlines also displayed an unusual likeness. Out of 19 editorials which were devoted to an analysis of de Gaulle's retirement eight of them used the exact same headline, "After de Gaulle." The remaining items carried similar headlines, such as: "What Now For France?"; "End of An Era"; and "France Without de Gaulle."

Three common themes were expressed in the opinions which followed the General's resignation. First, de Gaulle had provided the country with a memorable and stabilizing

Multiplots and Editorial Columns

Interest by the two newspapers in the campaign and election was amply shown by the substantial daily space devoted by the present study.

There were 43 editorials totaling 470 inches, and 19 editorial columns, with 296 inches. Both materials and editorial columns fell into three distinct areas. With the exception of the Hall Bureau Document, which included only one editorial during the eight-week period, every paper devoted at least one editorial to the following candidates de Bonilla's campaign, the first ballot, and the election of Pemplebon as President. Seven papers printed two or more editorials on the Bureau's resignation. Several papers featured editorials and/or editorial columns through and Papoe declared their candidacies.

Those materials which discussed these three major events were reasonably similar in content. The Democrats also displayed no unusual idiomacy. Out of 19 editorials which were devoted to an analysis of de Bonilla's retirement eight of them used the major same headline, "Effect de Bonilla." The remaining items carried similar headlines, such as "After the Primary", "End of An Era", and "Bureau Without de Bonilla."

Three common themes were apparent in the editorials which followed the Bureau's resignation. First, de Bonilla had provided the country with a memorable and admirable

TABLE X

EDITORIALS AND EDITORIAL COLUMNS

	Editorial		Editorial Column	
	Items	Inches	Items	Inches
New York Times	5	51	3	50
St. Louis Post-Dispatch	4	36	3*	23
Christian Science Monitor	7	90	1	27
Milwaukee Journal	5	47	0	0
Washington Post	5	52	3*	63
Louisville Courier-Journal	4	54	3*	63
Wall Street Journal	1	16	0	0
Atlanta Constitution	6	42	2*	38
Chicago Tribune	3*	36	0	0
Los Angeles Times	3	52	0*	0
Totals	43	476	15	264

*Note: There were two editorials in the Chicago Tribune which contained a majority of advocacy paragraphs. A syndicated editorial column in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, Washington Post, Louisville Courier-Journal, Los Angeles Times and Atlanta Constitution also contained a majority of advocacy paragraphs.

TABLE 4

NEWSPAPERS AND EDITORIAL COLUMNS

	Total	Editorial	Editorial Column	
	Items	Items	Items	Lines
New York Times	5	51	3	80
St. Louis Post-Dispatch	4	36	3*	23
Chicago Tribune				
Monitor	7	30	1	27
Milwaukee Journal	5	47	0	0
Washington Post	3	32	3*	43
Louisville Courier-Journal	4	54	3*	83
Wall Street Journal	1	10	0	0
Atlanta Constitution	4	43	3*	34
Chicago Tribune	34	30	0	0
Los Angeles Times	3	53	0*	0
Totals	42	410	19	294

Three items were two editorials in the Chicago Tribune which contained a majority of advocacy paragraphs. A syndicated editorial column in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, Washington Post, Louisville Courier-Journal, Los Angeles Times and Atlanta Constitution also contained a majority of advocacy paragraphs.

ten years as President. Second, he needlessly elevated the constitutional change into another personal referendum. And third, French thought and action would find new ways of expression under a new president. The Milwaukee Journal interpreted the General's departure this way:

> President de Gaulle laid himself on the line once too often. This time he has lost. The irony is that it was unnecessary. The referendum issue--administrative decentralization and Senate reform--could have been settled quickly by the Parliament. De Gaulle chose to make it a test of his own indispensability.
>
> Whatever else he did for France he forced the world to pay it some attention.
>
> France without his leadership will be a different France, perhaps more unstable. It will lack the grandeur he insisted upon--and it is another irony that, in spite of what he always said, his downfall proves that grandeur is divisible.[21]

An editorial in the New York Times eloquently expressed a corresponding view.

> General de Gaulle's resignation brings to a tragic end an extraordinary era in French history. A leader who served his country twice--from the disgrace of military defeat in 1940-45 and from the civil war in 1958--has been repudiated at the polls after eleven years of authoritarian rule.

The referendum defeat was described in this manner:

> He went down with his facilities unimpaired, fighting a quixotic battle he need not have undertaken, a battle for marginal political reforms demanded neither by the nation nor by his followers, but only by his own pride.
>
> The device--the referendum--that he inserted into the Constitution to assure plebiscitary rule should a traditionally divided France fail to provide him with a Parliamentary majority, he employed unnecessarily.
>
> Whether Pompidou or an opposition leader is elected,

own years as President. Second, he overwhelmingly elevated the constitutional change into another personal referendum.

And third, French disgust and boredom would find new ways of expression under a new president. The Milwaukee Journal interpreted the General's departure this way:

> President de Gaulle laid himself on the line once too often. This time he has lost. The irony is that it was unnecessary. The referendum issue--abolishing the Senate/liquidation and Senate reform--would have been decided quickly by the Parliament. De Gaulle chose to make it a test of his own indispensability.
>
> Whatever else he did for France he forced the world to pay it some attention.
>
> France without his leadership will be a different France, perhaps more unstable. It will lack the grandeur he instilled upon--and it is another irony that, in spite of what he always said, his downfall proved that greatness is divisible.[1]

An editorial in the New York Times eloquently expressed a corresponding view.

> General de Gaulle's resignation brings to a tragic and an extraordinary era in French history. A leader who served his country twice--first the diaspora of military defeat in 1940-42 and then the civil war in 1958--has been repudiated at the polls after eleven years of authoritarian rule.

The referendum defeat was described in this manner:

> He went down with his faithful unreconstructed. Rejecting a guarantee that he need not have undertaken, a ballot for marginal political reforms demanded neither by the nation nor by his colleagues, but only by his own pride.
>
> The device--the referendum--that he inserted into the Constitution to assure plebiscitary rule should a traditionally divided France fail to provide him with a parliamentary majority, he employed unnecessarily.

Whether Pompidou or an opposition leader is elected,

> a new period is opening that cannot fail to bring fundamental changes both within France and in the French role in the world.[22]

A majority of the papers that editorialized on the first ballot commented on the certainty of a Pompidou victory in the final vote. The editorials stressed the fact that a Pompidou presidency would provide France with seven years of stable government. They also pointed out that stability must not be equated with blind adherence to long-standing Gaullist policies. The following headlines indicate the type of editorial that appeared after the first ballot: "In France A Difference," "A Gentle Transition Away From de Gaulle," "French Winds of Change," and "A New French Foreign Policy?"

The New York Times editorial was characteristic of the tone and emphasis of the commentaries on the June 1 vote. It began by predicting that Pompidou would win on the final ballot.

> Apparently Mr. Pompidou gained and Mr. Poher lost some ground in the past week, if earlier straw polls were accurate Mr. Pompidou would now appear to be the favorite.
>
> A vote for Pompidou means a vote for stability. A Gaullist majority in the National Assembly assures him control of Parliament for three or four years. A vote for Poher assures change, but it is not clear what kind. Frenchmen have seemed prepared to take this risk in recent weeks. But now they have time to think again.

It also included comments on the possible dissolution of the National Assembly should Poher be elected.

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The one most clearly defined was characteristic of
the tone and emphasis of the commentaries on the June 1
votes. It began by predicting that Poujadism would win on
the first ballot.

> Desperately Mr. Poujade gained and Mr. Pfimlin lost
> some ground in the past week. If earlier straw polls
> were accurate Mr. Poujadism would now appear to be the
> favorite.

A vote for Poujadism means a vote for stability. A
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control of Parliament for five or four years. A vote
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kind. Frenchmen have learned precisely to take this risk
in recent weeks. But now they have time to think
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It also included comments on the possible dissolu-
tion of the National Assembly should Poujade be elected.

> Mr. Poher's election would virtually assure dissolution of Parliament and another election next fall for a new National Assembly, the third in about 18 months. . . . What this evokes is the danger, under the Gaullist Constitution, that parliamentary instability--with elections at frequent intervals--will take the place of Cabinet instability of the Fourth Republic.[23]

An editorial in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch also pointed up the likelihood of Pompidou's victory on the June 15 ballot.

> In the end Pompidou may look like a more certain quantity than Poher, whose administrative abilities are largely unknown. There is also the possibility of some instability if Poher is elected. Facing a Gaullist majority in the National Assembly, he almost certainly would be forced to dissolve Parliament and call new elections.[24]

In addition to speculating on the possibility of a Pompidou victory several editorials wondered whether changes in Gaullist policies would follow with the election of a new president. An editorial in the Milwaukee Journal maintained that Gaullist policies would not change after the election.

> No overnight change can be expected whichever man wins. Many of the problems, such as British entry into the Common Market, involve more than political decisions. Economic matters are at stake too. But the France of de Gaulle, increasingly isolated, intent upon its own military and political roles at the expense of weakening alliances and rejecting European unity, seems gone. That in itself is a gain for France and the rest of the world.[25]

An editorial which appeared in the Washington Post five days before the first ballot expressed a different point of view.

"Americans would do well to assume, or at least

Mr. Pasco's election would significantly improve
dissolution of Parliament and another election next
fall for a new National Assembly. The cited in about 18
months. . . . What this would do the dinner, maybe the
Gaullist Constitution, plus [illegible]—will keep the
place of Gaullist instability at the Fourth Republic.[13]

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gone. That in itself is a gain for France and the rest
of the world.[15]

An editorial which appeared in the Washington Post
five days before the first ballot expressed a different
point of view.

"Americans would do well to assume, or at least

hope, that the next French president envisages the kind of close but respectful association with the United States that, on his part, Mr. Nixon envisages with Europe."[26]

Many of these post-first ballot editorials politely suggested that France would be better off with a Pompidou presidency. They indicated that Pompidou was a "certain quantity." He would assume the presidency with the National Assembly firmly controlled by his own party. This was a luxury which no Fourth Republic president had enjoyed. A majority of the papers included value statements on the advantages of the Gaullist's election. While acknowledging the fact that Poher was decidedly more vocal in his pro-Western pronouncements, they inferred that the Centrist would be unnecessarily hampered and restricted by the Gaullist dominated National Assembly. The Chicago Tribune, however, openly advocated a Pompidou victory.

On May 31 Marcel Wallenstein said that a Poher victory would mean a return to Fourth Republic instability and indecision. The Gaullist majority would become a "hostile majority" and Poher would be "forced" to call new National Assembly elections. These elections would result in a government composed of "splinter groups and parties, the kind of situation which made France almost impossible to govern in the period before de Gaulle's administration."[27]

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tion."[37]

Another editorial expressed the view that "the more

Communists stay away from the polls, the better Mr. Pompidou's chances will be."[28] This was a value rather than an advocacy statement. However, this editorial contained clear statements which both stated and implied that Pompidou was the best candidate "for the French, as well as for us."

Advocacy statements were included in these paragraphs:

> Current developments make a Pompidou victory more important for France--and indirectly, for the rest of the West--because they offer a preview of the trouble Mr. Poher would have trying to form a strong government. To begin with Mr. Poher is a child of the Fourth Republic. He is a believer in compromise. In view of the unexpected strength of the Communists there is all too clear a danger that Mr. Poher's compromises would be more toward the left, that they would further weaken an already weak government and that France would drift back toward the instability from which de Gaulle rescued it in 1958.
>
> France is choosing between the weakness of the Fourth Republic and the strength of the Fifth Republic.
>
> The important thing for France as well as for us, is to preserve a government which is strong enough to be responsible for its action and resist pressure from the left.[29]

The Louisville Courier-Journal was the only newspaper to openly express disappointment with both candidates. A June 4 editorial pessimistically observed that neither candidate would make an effective president.

> Few Frenchmen will send their caps sailing into the air in joyous celebration when Pompidou wins on June 15.
>
> It is too much to expect Pompidou to do the overt things Poher promised to do. Pompidou figures to be no

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air in joyous celebration when Pamplodon wins on
June 12.

It is too much to expect Pamplodon to do the many
things Fabre promised to do. Pamplodon figures to be no

> startling innovator. It will be his business to play on the weakness of the other parties and try to build his own into the true majority force.

A Poher victory would be equally disillusioning:

> As to Poher himself, he would have found a victory with Communist support a hollow triumph. He would have been heavily indebted to a party which does not want to see the present system of government in France succeeded.[30]

The clearest advocacy statements were found in a story by syndicated columnist Joseph Kraft. A story headlined "Anglo-Saxon Democracy in France" appeared in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, Washington Post, Louisville Courier-Journal, Los Angeles Times and Atlanta Constitution. This was the only editorial column containing advocacy statements to appear in the ten papers.

Joseph Kraft began by setting forth his views on continental democracy:

> "Continental democracy emphasizes politics which give mathematically perfect expression to every man's opinion. It features proportional representation, a multitude of splinter parties, government by coalition, and chronic instability.

Kraft emphasized that Poher represented the "splinter parties" and "chronic instability":

> Poher, the candidate who ran second, is inevitably the candidate of the unstable continent democracy. To win the runoff on June 15, he would need to add to his base of votes an impossible combination of warring parties including the Communists, Socialists, Revolutionary Socialists and Trotskyites.
>
> Once in office such a combination would inevitably reinstate the old recipe for instability--splinter parties bringing down government after government on microscopic issues.

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [

The election of Pompidou would signal a change to a pro-Western style of government.

> With Pompidou it is possible that France can develop a variation of the kind of democracy which grew up in Britain and the United States.

Though Kraft may not have intended to convey this point of view, knowledge of accepted Gaullist policies would seem to indicate that his concluding statement inferred that Poher's policy of reduced government interference in the press, radio and television would become a thing of the past with a Pompidou victory.

> As president Pompidou would add new cohesion to the Gaullist ranks. The opposition would be under heavy pressure to coalesce.[31]

All of the newspapers except the Wall Street Journal carried congratulatory editorials on Pompidou's election. In addition to praising the winner, these editorials speculated on future Pompidou policies.

The St. Louis Post-Dispatch commented on the victory in this manner:

> The election of Georges Pompidou as France's president raises the possibility of a slow but sure thaw in French relations with the United States.
>
> Pompidou, a cautious man, is expected to feel his way carefully. He can be expected to avoid anything that could be interpreted as an abrupt break with Gaullist policies.[32]

The Washington Post felt that a Pompidou victory would signal a period of close Franco-American cooperation.

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In domestic as well as foreign policy, he is likely
to show more flexibility than did de Gaulle, and to be

> content to operate on a lower level of drama and conflict. These are reasons enough for Americans to welcome the new President of France and hope for close cooperation with him.[33]

The post-election editorial in the Louisville Courier-Journal concluded that the French had grown tired of the General but they preferred his policies, or at least the representative of his party.

> The French people have tired of the increasing imperiousness of the author of Gaullism, but they are by no means tired of the peculiar subtleties of Gaullism itself.
>
> The more abrasive tactics of Gaullism are likely to be honed away; the stability it has brought, the reforms it has set in motion may well proceed more rapidly. The French, who have both delighted in and chafed under the imperious decisions of his predecessor may find President Pompidou a less quotable but a more congenial leader.[34]

Several editorials emphasized the fact that Poher's candidacy was beneficial if for no other reason than because it forced Pompidou to take a stand on important political issues.

The Milwaukee Journal expressed this particular viewpoint.

> Few important changes in French policy are likely in the months ahead. But Pompidou is expected to be more amenable to European unity than de Gaulle was. Alain Poher, the defeated candidate, promised more change than Pompidou, including more democratic government. Poher's sizable vote should influence Pompidou's policies, most particularly in France's relations with its allies.
>
> The anti-British and anti-American posture of the General will no longer control French thought. France should be more stable, more concerned with internal problems and a better partner in Europe.[35]

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> The more adroitly tactics of Gaullism are likely to be forced upon; the stability it has brought, the reforms it has set in motion may well proceed more rapidly. The French, who have just delighted in and chuckled under the imperious decisions of his predecessor may find President Pompidou a less quotable but a more competent leader.[4]

Several editorials emphasized the fact that Pompidou's position was beneficial if for no other reason than because it forced Frenchmen to take a stand on important political issues.

The Milwaukee Journal expressed this particular viewpoint.

> The improvement changes in French policy may likely in the months ahead. But Pompidou is expected to be more amenable to European unity than de Gaulle was. Also, the defeated candidate, standard bore Gaullism, has been forgiven, including some resentful voters. Pompidou's policies, most particularly in France's relations with its allies.

The anti-British and anti-American posture of the General will no longer control French thought. France should be more stable, more cooperative with internal problems and a better partner in Europe.[5]

The New York Times observed that Pompidou echoed the views of Poher on several important election issues.

> Mr. Pompidou's own views in fact, are not far from Interim President Alain Poher's. Abroad Mr. Pompidou may be slow and more cautious about altering de Gaulle's policies, but few doubt that he will do so. Impartiality in the Middle East, friendlier relations with the United States and NATO, early negotiations over British entry into the Common Market appear to be in the offing.
>
> In rejecting the Centrist candidate France nevertheless has opted for the middle of the road. Under Mr. Pompidou, France's Gaullist future is more likely to resemble Poherism without Poher than Gaullism without de Gaulle.[36]

A phrase that was continually used in descriptions of the new French political structure was: "Gaullism without de Gaulle." Time and again the question was asked whether France would elect the "General's dauphin" and thus continue to follow accepted policies or launch out on a new political course with a non-Gaullist president? Several newspapers interpreted the election of Pompidou as a French desire to continue de Gaulle's programs under a new, but basically sympathetic president.

The Christian Science Monitor said as much in an editorial entitled "Gaullism Without de Gaulle."

> Georges Pompidou's clear victory in the final round of the French presidential election indicates not only the basic conservatism of his countrymen but also their desire for continued stable government.
>
> They have chosen to go ahead with the French Fifth Republic basically as de Gaulle conceived it. What they want is Gaullism without de Gaulle. The question now is: Will Gaullism under Pompidou be the same as Gaullism under de Gaulle? Our own guess is that the

> direction will be virtually the same, but the method will be smoother, less abrasive and more democratic.[37]

The New York Times disagreed.

> The idea of Gaullism after de Gaulle is a misnomer. "De Gaulle had no successors or predecessors," the General's associates used to be fond of quoting him as having said. Not only in style but in political philosophy, General de Gaulle was "sur generis" as President of France.[38]

The ten papers carried a total of 21 editorial cartoons. Every paper except the Wall Street Journal included at least one cartoon. The top three places belonged to the Milwaukee Journal, Christian Science Monitor and Los Angeles Times, which carried five, four and three cartoons, respectively. Thirteen of the 21 cartoons concentrated on some aspect of the de Gaulle resignation. Pompidou was the subject in six of the remaining eight cartoons. Poher was featured in only two of them.

Summary

French election procedures differ greatly from those in the United States. It was necessary for a story to explain and comment on the relative importance of issues and events. A presentation of facts did not give the reader an insight into the campaign and election. The most comprehensive coverage included a mixture of interpretative as well as straight reporting.

This chapter sought to determine how much of the campaign coverage in the ten United States prestige newspapers was straight news or factual background and how much

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as well as straight reporting.

This chapter sought to determine how much of the
campaign coverage in the two United States papers came
before the straight news or factual background and how much

fell into the general area of interpretation. Examination of the data revealed that all of the papers, except the Milwaukee Journal, were highly interpretative in their coverage of the campaign and election. The total number of interpretative items was 343, with 3,609 paragraphs. There were 219 factual news items, with 2,245 paragraphs. The emphasis on commentary may have occurred because five of the ten papers relied exclusively on foreign correspondents for their campaign coverage. In addition, two of the remaining five papers included interpretative articles which were furnished by the New York Times News Service and the Washington Post, Los Angeles Times News Service.

There were 43 editorials and 15 editorial columns. The majority of these were interpretative commentaries. Several contained value statements on the significance of a Pompidou victory. Only two editorials openly advocated a win by Pompidou. These appeared in the Chicago Tribune. One syndicated editorial column also advocated a Gaullist victory. This particular column was included by five of the ten papers.

With the exception of the Wall Street Journal, all of the papers carried at least one editorial on de Gaulle's resignation, the first ballot and the Pompidou election.

The total number of editorial cartoons in the election was 21. The majority of these, 13 out of 21, dealt with General de Gaulle's resignation. Pompidou was

featured in six of the remaining eight cartoons, and Poher in two of them.

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[1]Anthony Lewis, "Resignation Stirs Hopes For West European Unity," New York Times, April 28, 1969, p. 1.

[2]Henry Tanner, "French Reds Select Duclos To Oppose Pompidou," New York Times, May 6, 1969, p. 6.

[3]Donald Loucheim, "French Leftists In Disarray As Reds Pick Own Candidate," Washington Post, May 6, 1969, p. 1.

[4]Don Cook, "Red Abstention At Polls May Clinch Pompidou Victory," Los Angeles Times, June 3, 1969, p. 1.

[5]Henry Tanner, "In France The Campaign Means Free Air Time," New York Times, May 22, 1969, p. 16.

[6]Donald Loucheim, "French Race Closer With Poher Entry," Washington Post, May 13, 1969, p. 1.

[7]"New French Leader In Center," Chicago Tribune, April 28, 1969, p. 4.

[8]Don Cook, "Poher Vote Campaign Similar To Harding's," Los Angeles Times, May 22, 1969, p. 9.

[9]"Socialists To Abstain In France," Milwaukee Journal, June 8, 1969, p. 2.

[10]Carlyle Morgan, "Gaullism Buoys Pompidou," Christian Science Monitor, June 13, 1969, p. 1.

[11]John Vinocur, "Left Fails To Unite In Paris," Atlanta Constitution, May 6, 1969, p. 3.

[12]"Premier Candidate Joins French Race," Milwaukee Journal, May 16, 1969, p. 5.

[13]"What's News," Wall Street Journal, May 8, 1969, p. 1.

[14]"Poll Puts Poher In Front," Atlanta Constitution, May 15, 1969, p. 3.

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[7] "One French Leader In Center," Chicago Tribune, April 20, 1969, p. 4.

[8] Don Cook, "Rebar Wins Campaign Rivalry To Darling's," Los Angeles Times, May 22, 1969, p. 8.

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[13] "Name's Name," Wall Street Journal, May 8, 1969, p. 1.

[14] "Poll Puts Power In Front," Atlanta Constitution, May 13, 1969, p. 1.

[15] "French Socialists Pick Candidate," Baltimore Journal, May 5, 1969, p. 3.

[16] "Name's Name," Wall Street Journal, May 13, 1969, p. 1.

[17]Peter Grose, "More Flexibility In France Is Seen," New York Times, April 28, 1969, p. 13.

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[33]"President Pompidou," Washington Post, June 17, 1969, p. A-17.

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[32] "Brutality Prevalent," Washington Post, June 17, 1969, p. 1-12.

[34]"President Pompidou: More Congenial, Less Quotable," Louisville Courier-Journal, June 17, 1969, p. A-8.

[35]"More Stability, Less Glory," Milwaukee Journal, June 16, 1969, p. 6.

[36]"France's Gaullist Future," New York Times, June 16, 1969, p. 46.

[37]"Gaullism Without de Gaulle," Christian Science Monitor, June 18, 1969, p. 16.

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CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

The purpose of this study was to evaluate the coverage given the 1969 French presidential campaign and election by the ten United States prestige newspapers.

Impressionistic observations before this study was conducted gave birth to the three hypotheses enumerated in Chapter I. These hypotheses were established in order to measure the quantity as well as the quality of the coverage given the election. The findings and conclusions of the preceding three chapters, which discussed comprehensiveness, focus and interpretation, will be summarized in this chapter. A description of coder reliability and suggestions for further research will conclude this chapter.

Summary

This study began with a discussion of how much campaign and election news was given to the readers of each paper. Chapter III included a descriptive analysis of the kind of news as well as the total volume of news that was included by each paper. Volume and comprehensiveness were measured in four ways. The total number of items, and the length of these items were compiled for each prestige

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

The purpose of this study was to evaluate the campaign and election by the ten United States presidential campaign and election by the 1969 French presidential campaign and election.

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newspaper. In order to provide a balanced interpretation, assessment of volume and comprehensiveness included measurement of seven key election issues and 20 main developments. These issues and main developments were selected from total election coverage in the International Herald Tribune and Le Monde. A discussion of correspondents and news agencies was also included.

Chapter IV examined the focus of campaign and election coverage. In order to determine whether coverage focused on candidates or issues each paragraph within each news item was coded as to its primary emphasis. The direction of each item was decided upon after determining the emphasis of the individual paragraphs. This chapter also included a description of the amount and kind of coverage given to each candidate.

Chapter V determined what proportion of total campaign and election coverage was straight news or factual background and what proportion fell into the general area of interpretation. Each paragraph was coded in one of the following categories: factual background, straight news, interpretation, value or advocacy. The direction of the entire item depended on the accent of the individual paragraphs. Editorials and editorial columns were also analyzed.

The hypotheses tested were:

(1) "Examination will show the sample of ten

prestige newspapers furnish measurable differences among themselves in the length and number of items and degree of coverage of issues and developments."

It would appear from an examination of the figures presented in Tables I, II, III, and IV that the readers of each paper received a continuing and accurate account of campaign and election events and issues. However, a descriptive analysis of the content of the news items revealed this was not the case. Only the readers of the New York Times, Washington Post and Los Angeles Times were provided with comprehensive, accurate coverage of issues and main developments. These papers stood one, two and three in all volume and comprehensiveness categories. The issues and developments were "explained" instead of "mentioned" in these three papers.

This was the most significant difference between these three papers and the remaining papers on the list. Most of the papers in the remaining group of seven mentioned a majority of the election issues and developments at least once. Several papers mentioned them on more than one occasion. However, the brevity of the news items in which the issues and events were mentioned often precluded description and interpretation.

On many occasions an issue and development was mentioned and not related to the principal candidates. The significance of these issues and events was rarely

explained.

In addition, wide gaps in coverage existed in many of these seven papers. Several papers which had neglected the campaign in May attempted to bring their readers up to date by printing election summaries before the first ballot. Qualitative analyses of these particular items revealed that often they excluded a description of the issue itself and the positions of the major candidates. Many of these items contained erroneous information. Because the coverage of these seven papers was often characterized by sporadic, overly-brief, incomplete news items it is doubtful if the readers were provided with a basic understanding of candidates and issues.

There were, however, significant differences in the amount and type of coverage by these seven papers. Though it placed near the bottom of the list in total volume, coverage by the Christian Science Monitor was generally superior to the other papers among the remaining seven. Those issues and developments which were covered were given detailed explanations. On several occasions the Christian Science Monitor presented information that was not available in any of the other papers.

Coverage by the Chicago Tribune was excellent on some issues and events and non-existent on others. Both the Christian Science Monitor and the Chicago Tribune carried articles by their foreign correspondents in Paris.

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Yet, important events were often completely ignored.

When stories provided by the New York Times News Service and Washington Post, Los Angeles Times News Service were used in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch and Louisville Courier-Journal coverage was thorough and extensive. However, these articles were used infrequently. Large gaps in coverage existed in both of these papers.

The Milwaukee Journal placed near the middle of the list in total volume. It also mentioned all of the key issues and all but four of the main developments. Only a few of the articles in the Milwaukee Journal were more than two paragraphs long. A majority of the issues and events were mentioned in short one paragraph factual summaries. Descriptions of the issues and the candidates' progress were often not included.

Information presented by the Atlanta Constitution and Wall Street Journal was generally inadequate in all areas of volume and comprehensiveness. It appeared as if the Wall Street Journal did not even attempt to cover the election. Only 16 articles were included in the entire eight week period.

(2) "All of the papers will be found to focus on the candidates and their progress rather than on the issues and developments."

Figures in Table VI showed that the total number of items and paragraphs for candidates and their progress was

ters. Impediments seemed more often confidently imposed.

When scrutiny provided by the New York Times Book Review and Washington Post, Los Angeles Times Book Review were used in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch and Louisville Courier-Journal coverage was checked and reiterate. However, these criteria were used infrequently. Large gaps in coverage occured in both of these papers.

The Minneapolis Journal placed near the middle of the list in total volume. It also maintained all of the top issues and all but four of the main departments. Only 2 the of the criteria in the Minneapolis Journal were more than two paragraphs long. A majority of the issues and events were mentioned in about one paragraph journal accounts. Descriptions of the issues and the candidates' positions were often not included.

Polarization presented by the Atlanta Constitution and Wall Street Journal was generally independent in all areas of volume and comprehensiveness. It appeared as if the Wall Street Journal did not even attempt to cover the election. Only 10 articles were included in the entire eight week period.

(3) "All of the papers will be found to focus on the candidates and their positions rather than on the issues and developments."

Stated in Table XI showed that the total number of issues and paragraphs for candidates and their positions was

more than double the number of issue items and paragraphs. The closest balance between candidate and issue items was found in the New York Times, Washington Post and Los Angeles Times, where a three to two proportion existed between candidate and issue items. Candidate items outnumbered issue items by more than two to one in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, Christian Science Monitor, Louisville Courier-Journal and Atlanta Constitution; and by more than three to one in the Chicago Tribune, Milwaukee Journal and Wall Street Journal. Information presented in Chapter IV, as well as that included in Chapter III, showed that coverage given the candidates and the issues was often inadequate and meaningless. The New York Times, Washington Post and Los Angeles Times provided full and adequate information on all of the issues and candidates. The remaining seven papers did not. An accurate explanation of the candidates' progress necessitated covering the 20 main developments. Those papers which neglected to report the main developments did not present complete information on the candidates' progress. A similar analogy can be drawn for the coverage of the seven key election issues.

As in the case of the first hypothesis, significant differences existed among the remaining seven newspapers. The Christian Science Monitor presented the most complete accounts on both the candidates' progress and the issues. The St. Louis Post-Dispatch, Milwaukee Journal, Louisville

Courier-Journal and Chicago Tribune occupied the middle positions. News included in the Atlanta Constitution and Wall Street Journal was the most incomplete. Each of the papers in this group of seven explained some of the positions taken by the candidates on some of the issues. None of them detailed the positions of the two major candidates on all of the issues.

Table VII showed that candidate coverage was about equally divided between the two major candidates. Georges Pompidou received a slightly larger total number of items. Four of the ten papers, the Milwaukee Journal, Washington Post, Chicago Tribune and Los Angeles Times, included more items which were primarily concerned with Alain Poher. The New York Times had the closest balance between the two principal candidates. The Christian Science Monitor devoted the same number of items to one or more of the five lesser candidates as it did to Pompidou and Poher.

(3) "Examination will indicate that coverage, although centered on candidates, will be concerned primarily with straight news or interpretative accounts of events and not exhibit statements of advocacy toward candidates or issues."

The discussion of this hypothesis in Chapter V revealed that a majority of the news items in all of the papers except the Milwaukee Journal were interpretative in nature. Over one-third of the interpretative items were

coded as value stories and articles. Five of the ten papers relied upon articles from their foreign correspondents in France. A majority of these articles were explicatory observations. These correspondents, familiar with French political customs and voting traditions, accurately explained the significance of the campaign and election issues and developments. They clearly portrayed the subtle nuances in French political maneuvering. Instead of merely presenting the bare facts these correspondents provided an insight into the campaign and election. They were best able to describe the meaning and importance of the election --for the French and the United States.

The proportion of factual and interpretative coverage was similar for all of the papers except the Milwaukee Journal. The Milwaukee Journal was the only paper to include a larger total number of factual news items and paragraphs.

A descriptive analysis of item content in Chapter V showed that often the most complete and accurate news item contained interpretative commentary. In many cases a straight news item, though factually correct, was meaningless without accompanying definition and explanation.

Tables VIII and IX showed that the major emphasis of the news items was on straight news and interpretation and not advocacy statements. None of the news items openly stated or implied advocacy toward any candidate or issue.

Advocacy statements predominated in two editorials and one editorial column. The majority of the editorials were definitive analyses which contained value statements. They were concerned with the resignation of de Gaulle, the first ballot and the final Pompidou victory.

Conclusions

The papers used in this study have been chosen by the nation's editors and publishers as the top ten quality newspapers. These papers have been accorded this honor in several surveys during the past ten years.[1] Guido Stempel has said that, "These newspapers are the opinion leaders of the newspaper industry. Their performance is something of a guage of the performance of the press as a whole because they represent the best in American journalism."[2]

Frank Luther Mott and Warren Breed contend that the majority of the nation's dailies are "standardized." "The smaller papers are influenced by the larger papers."[3] The papers in this project would certainly be among those large papers which influence the smaller ones.

Results in numerous studies conducted by these experts in the field of communication research indicate that the prestige newspapers have the ability and the responsibility to inform their readers about international events.

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the public's only source of enlightenment in international affairs."[4] It is clear that the prestige press, as "representatives of the best in American journalism," should have provided accurate and comprehensive coverage of the 1969 French presidential campaign and election.

The results in this study indicate that only three of the sample papers accepted the responsibility to provide comprehensive, factual and interpretative coverage of the election. The remaining seven papers gave their readers too little information about the issues and events of the election.

The readers of the New York Times received complete and accurate coverage of the campaign and election. Events and issues were not merely mentioned, they were explained. These explanations sought to provide the reader with an understanding of the total election picture. Stories contributed by the New York Times correspondents in France were not sterile presentations of facts and figures. These stories included interpretative analyses on the importance of the facts as they related to election issues and developments.

Stories which detailed the progress of the candidates also explained their involvement with specific issues and events. Articles which simply listed percentage changes in voter strength were meaningless without an accompanying explanation of the factors which produced the changes. The

New York Times described the changes in voter strength in relation to the candidates' campaign strategies and their pronouncements on the issues. Detailed explanations were presented on the positions of the two major candidates on all of the issues.

A conscious effort was made to consolidate the news on the issues and the candidates and present it in a meaningful, informative manner. Articles were not only informative, they were interesting and entertaining. Stories often included witty descriptions of the candidates and the voters.

No attempt was made in this study to establish an optimum proportion of candidate to issue stories. But the New York Times accurately and comprehensively reported all facets of the campaign and election with a three to two relationship between candidate and issue news items. The Times election coverage provided readers with a better understanding of the French people as well as the significance of the election for France and the United States.

Members of government and industry in the Washington, D. C., Virginia, Maryland area who read the Washington Post also received extensive coverage of the campaign and election. Reporting by correspondents in Paris was continual and consistent. Issues and events were thoroughly explained in a discerning, readable manner. Coverage included interpretative analyses of all the issues and the

candidates' positions on them.

Stories in the Washington Post explained the meaning of the election and speculated upon the direction of future Franco-American policies. The relevance of the issues and the views of the candidates were expressed in a way that readers could understand the reasons for existing French attitudes and voting patterns. Though coverage in the Washington Post was highly interpretative it did not give preferential treatment to any particular candidate or issue. Post reporting included liberal use of quotes from candidates' speeches and explanations of their changing positions on the issues as the campaign progressed. The readers of the Washington Post were exposed to the same informative and interesting reporting as the readers of the New York Times.

Residents of California who read the Los Angeles Times also received continuous and effective coverage of the campaign and election. Stories in the Los Angeles Times were similar to those in the New York Times and Washington Post. The Los Angeles Times accurately described all of the issues and explained the changing positions of the candidates. Stories included quotes from speeches and amusing interpretations of the candidates and their campaign techniques. Prominent issues and events were explained in relation to the total election picture.

A faithful reader of the Christian Science Monitor

candidates' positions on them.

Stories in the publication that explained the meaning of the election and speculated upon the direction of Tampa Bronze-Beerites politics. The relevance of the issues and the views of the candidates were expressed in a way that readers could understand the reasons for existing Bronze attitudes and voting patterns. Though coverage in the Bronze-Beerite Times was highly interpretative it did not give preferential treatment to any particular candidate or issue. Each reporter included himself as one of dozens from candidates' speeches and explanations of their changing positions on the issues as the campaign progressed. The reasons of the Bronze-Beerite Post were exposed to the more informative and interesting reporting on the readers of the Bee Tree Times.

Residents of Saltcreek who read the Tax Dollar Times also received conscientious and effective coverage of the campaign and election. Stories in the Tax Dollar Times were similar in those in the Bee Tree Times and Bronze-Beerite Post. The Tax Dollar Times accurately described all of the issues and explained the changing positions of the candidates. Stories included quotes from speeches and accurate interpretations of the candidates and their campaign techniques. Precinct issues and events were explained in relation to the total election picture.

A cultural leader of the Christian Science Monitor

received an incomplete and often misleading picture of the campaign and election. Coverage, however, was by no means totally inadequate. Several issues were very thoroughly explained. Interpretative reporting by the Christian Science Monitor's foreign correspondents was often superior to the reporting in the New York Times, Washington Post and Los Angeles Times. Yet there were a number of important events and issues which were completely ignored. Occasionally the Monitor reported an insignificant occurrence in the same manner it reported an important issue.

The Christian Science Monitor got off on the wrong foot by failing to understand the significance of the election, and the candidates who were attempting to become de Gaulle's successor. Monitor readers must have assumed that the 1969 election was merely a replay of the one held four years before, because that is the way it was reported. At least a dozen stories were devoted to a description of the possibility of a leftist coalition, which was never seriously considered by any candidate or party. These stories neglected a description of the key issues and the position of the two major candidates. As far as the Christian Science Monitor was concerned, the Poher candidacy "happened" because the parties of the left could not agree on a temporary political alliance.

A reader of the Christian Science Monitor received the impression that the "other" candidates should have

united behind a single non-Gaullist candidate who could have given Pompidou a real run for his money. Since they did not there was no way to prevent a landslide victory by the Gaullist. Poher was never considered a serious challenger for the presidency. This kind of thinking colored the Monitor's explanation of the issues and developments.

Readers of the St. Louis Post-Dispatch and Louisville Courier-Journal received election coverage in a rather haphazard fashion. There were often large gaps in election reporting. Periods as long as two weeks passed without a single mention of the campaign and election. There was no news on many of the significant developments. Issues were usually mentioned and not discussed. Only rarely were the views of the candidates and a description of the issues included in the same article.

The most comprehensive and accurate articles which appeared in these papers were those received from the New York Times News Service and the Washington Post, Los Angeles Times News Service. A reader who happened to read either paper on the day one of these articles was included would have received complete information on at least one main development or key issue.

However, these articles appeared too infrequently to provide the readers even a basic understanding of the relationship between the candidates and the issues. It is conceivable that these articles might have confused readers

who received detailed information on a candidate's position on a particular issue which had not previously been explained, or even mentioned.

Coverage by these papers was complete on some issues and events and non-existent on others. A reader might have understood the importance of the campaign and election if he was able to piece together all of the fragments of information that were presented during the entire eight-week period.

The Milwaukee Journal mentioned all of the issues and all but four of the main developments. Most of the issues and developments were only mentioned and not explained. Short, one paragraph summaries attempted to describe the issues and positions of the candidates. They were incomplete and occasionally inaccurate. No attempt was made to coherently explain the relationship between the candidates and the issues. It was up to the reader to match the right issue with the right candidate.

These capsule summaries were included in the "News In Brief" section in the Journal. Readers who habitually read this particular section would have known that President de Gaulle had resigned and the country was engaged in an election to choose his successor. Those who skipped this section probably were not aware that an election was taking place.

Coverage in the Chicago Tribune was inadequate even

though it included articles from a correspondent in Paris. The Tribune did not rely exclusively on their French correspondent for election coverage. Those stories from Paris which were included were not as incisive or as interesting as those which appeared in the New York Times, Washington Post and Los Angeles Times.

All of the issues were given superficial coverage. Most of them were only mentioned in one article. The views of the candidates were never explained. Tribune readers were exposed to far less information about the campaign and election than the other newspapers which included material from their foreign correspondents.

Coverage in the Atlanta Constitution was inadequate in all respects. Readers were given no news on most of the issues and developments. Only six articles were included in the entire month of May. Stories in the Atlanta Constitution did not consistently and accurately present the facts of the campaign and election. No attempt was made to explain the relationship between the issues and the candidates.

Readers of the Atlanta Constitution probably gained the impression that the 1969 French presidential election involved a collection of candidates with unpronounceable names who were remotely connected with a group of hazy, inconsequential issues.

It is doubtful if the readers of the Wall Street Journal would have known that a French presidential election was taking place. The volume totals for the Wall Street Journal were less than half the totals for the Atlanta Constitution. A majority of the issues and events and the candidates' opinions were completely ignored. Infrequent one paragraph summaries typified the paper's election coverage. A reader who depended on the Wall Street Journal for information on important international events would not have understood the meaning of the issues, the views of the candidates or the significance of the election itself.

Edward F. Williams has expressed the following opinion on the importance of international news flow in the press:

"If people and nations are to understand each other, they must know about each other. Moreover, their news of each other must be continual and consistent."[5]

If this is the case, then a majority of the ten prestige papers did not provide their readers with "continual and consistent" information on the campaign and election, and did not provide a better understanding of the French people.

Reliability

A reliability test was conducted with an independent coder to determine the extent of agreement with the author.

It is consistent if the founders of the Bell System
Journal would have known that a Second Constitutional elec-
tion was called by them. The actions taken by the Bell
System Journal were less than half the totals for the
Atlanta Convention. A majority of the persons who signed
and the candidates' opinions were completely ignored.
Indeed, one paragraph summarizes [illegible] the Judge's
election comments. A reader who declared he the Bell
System Journal the information or important international
events would not have understood the meaning of the issues,
the views of the candidates or the significance of the
election itself.

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paragraphs because did not provide their readers with "accurate
and consistent" information on the campaign and
election. May did not provide a better understanding of the
French people.

Conclusion

A relationship must was conducted with an independent
source to determine the extent of agreement with the author.

The test was adapted from the "equivalent forms method" described by Guido H. Stempel III.[6] The test involved a measurement of "identical frequency tabulations" of the material examined by the coders.

The independent coder was instructed on the procedures used in this study and given 20 typical news items to code. These items were drawn at random from the total number of news items in all newspapers. The extent to which independent coding of these items agreed with the original coding was 86 per cent.

Suggestions for Further Research

Future research might assume the form of a comparison of coverage of a significant international event by two sets of newspapers. It is suggested that the volume and scope of coverage by a random sample of United States newspapers be compared to that of the prestige papers. Techniques and procedures used here could be utilized in such a project. Analysis would include a comparison of the amount and type of coverage, and editorial comment by the two sets of newspapers.

Such a comparison would indicate the kind of reporting available to a reader of an "average newspaper" and a "prestige newspaper."

In compiling the list of key issues and main developments for this study it appeared that coverage by

the English-language International Herald Tribune was almost as extensive as the reporting in Le Monde. Both newspapers are published in Paris and presumably appeal to different reading publics. A fruitful study could be undertaken on the coverage by these two papers on a series of important international events. A content analysis could be conducted along the lines of the present study.

FOOTNOTES

[1]Editor & Publisher, Vol. XCIII, April 2, 1960; Vol. XCIII, April 9, 1960; and Vol. 105, May 2, 1970, p. 41.

[2]Guido H. Stempel III, "The Prestige Press Covers The 1960 Presidential Campaign," Journalism Quarterly, 38:157-164, 1961, p. 158.

[3]Quoted in Margaret A. Breen, "Ten Leading Newspapers Rated for Coverage of 1967 Detroit Riots," Journalism Quarterly, 45:544-546, 1968, p. 544.

[4]Arthur Hayes Sulzberger, "The Press In World Affairs," Journal of International Affairs, Vol. X, No. 2, 1956, p. 125.

[5]Edward F. Williams, Transmitting World News; A Study of Telecommunications and the Press (Paris, UNESCO, 1953), p. 4.

[6]Guido H. Stempel III, "Increasing Reliability in Content Analysis," Journalism Quarterly, 32:449-455, 1955, p. 449.

[1] Reference to Publication, Vol. XCIII, April 2, 1960, Vol. XCIII, April 3, 1960, and Vol. 105, May 2, 1977, p. 41.

[2] Guido G. Hoegel III, "The Investigative Press Coverage of the 1960 Presidential Campaign," Journalism Quarterly, 38:137-144, 1961, p. 140.

[3] Quoted in magazine ad, Gross, "Can Leading Newspapers Exceed the Coverage of 1587 Periodic Giants," Journalism Quarterly, 45:546-562, 1968, p. 544.

[4] Arthur Hayes Sulzberger, "The Press in World Affairs," Journal of International Affairs, Vol. X, No. 2, 1956, p. 123.

[5] Edward B. Williams, Increasing World Peace: A Study of Relationships and the Press (Paris, UNESCO, 1953), p. 4.

[6] Guido H. Hoegel III, "Increasing Reliability in Content Analysis," Journalism Quarterly, 37:645-655, 1970, p. 649.

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